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35 Lower Leeson Street
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STUDIES

1912-1962

WITH the present issue STUDIES completes fifty years of continuous publication. As this is something of an event in Irish publishing, we are commemorating the occasion by publishing a special golden jubilee issue in April 1962.

Articles will include:

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As our last issue was sold out within less than a fortnight of publication, we shall be glad if readers to avoid disappointment will place advance orders for the jubilee issue with their booksellers. The issue will be published on 16 April 1962.

We wish to apologise for the unavoidable delay in publishing this present issue.

Roland Burke Savage, S.J.
31 January 1962

The Irish University Question

ALFRED O'RAHILLY

V—The Catholic University of Ireland

(1) *The New Foundation*[1]

THE idea of a Catholic university in Ireland had been mooted several times in the seventeenth century. In 1600 Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, demanded 'that there be erected a university upon the Crown rents of Ireland, wherein all sciences shall be taught according to the manner of the Catholic Church.' In 1630 the Jesuit College in Back Lane, Dublin, was suppressed and annexed to Trinity College, Dublin. But it was the advent of the Queen's Colleges which prompted more effective action. The Rescripts of 1847 and 1848 recommended the establishment of a Catholic university on the model of that of Louvain (restored in 1834). The project was publicly discussed. The *Times* of 24 January 1850 is quoted as declaring: 'The Romish priesthood cannot educate. They have as a body neither the moral nor the physical means, the minds, the learning, nor the money.' A committee was formed and in March 1850 issued an appeal for funds. This was replaced by a committee—including bishops, priests and laymen—by the Synod of Thurles in August 1850. Newman was consulted in drawing up a report; in November 1851 he accepted the Rectorship. After Archbishop Murray's death early in 1852, Dr Cullen was translated from Armagh to Dublin, where he was installed on 29 June 1852. He immediately, through Bianconi, purchased the house 86 St Stephen's Green. Newman delivered his public discourses in the Rotunda, Dublin, during May and June 1852.

Confirming the Thurles statutes, Pius IX formally erected the university in March 1852. Delays ensued and in March 1854 the Pope ordered a synodal meeting of the bishops to decide on the opening and conveyed approval of Newman's appointment; he was formally installed in June 1854. The Synod met in May 1854, and the statutes were approved in Rome in October. Newman retired to Birmingham

[1]Abbreviated references are made to the following: C = Newman, *My Campaign in Ireland*, ed. W. P. Neville, privately printed 1896. I = Newman, *The Idea of a University*, 1910 ed. M = F. McGrath, S.J., *Newman's University: Idea and Reality*, 1951. WW = Wilfrid Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, 2 vols., 1912. Rob = Robertson Commission on University Education in Ireland, Appendices to 1, 2, 3 and Final Reports, 1901-1903. Fry = Fry Commission on T.C.D. and the University of Dublin, Appendices to First and Final Reports, 1906-07.

in November 1858; his resignation was formally acccepted in August 1859. In April 1861 the bishops appointed as Rector Dr Woodlock, President of All Hallows.

In 1872 Newman declared that he resigned 'because the hope of the university being English as well as Irish was quite at an end' (C, p. lv). He really found the task too burdensome and the Oratory was recalling him to Birmingham. After Newman the project languished, but it was never a complete failure. Referring to Fawcett's Act of 1873, abolishing tests in T.C.D., an English writer declares:

> The Catholic University was still excluded from the ring formed by these State-fed establishments, and continued to be supported by the alms of a poor but enthusiastic communion. The work it did was not discreditable, considering its means.—G. Locker Lampson, *A Consideration of the State of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century,* 1907, p. 357.

Much has been written on the comparative failure of the C.U.I. The most succinct statement has been made by one of Newman's collaborators:

> If the Catholic University has not had the measure of success which its organizer anticipated, it is not that it was behind the age, but in part because it was in advance of public opinion in Ireland. Other causes there were also, but in my opinion at all events, they were secondary. . . . A university embodying the ideas of a Newman was in advance of Catholic lay opinion. It was equally in advance of much of the Catholic clerical opinion of the country.—W. K. Sullivan, *University Education in Ireland,* 1866, pp. 24, 31.

Catholic lay opinion was greatly influenced by the Catholic barristers, mostly educated in Trinity College; the emergent middle class had little traditional culture and the country lacked industrial development calling for higher professional qualifications; wealthy Catholics were too anglicized; the clergy were largely pessimistic. There was insufficient conviction to outweigh the State boycott. Had the Catholics been really determined, they could have used Newman's Licentiate in Letters as equivalent to the B.A. degree denied by the State.

(2) *The Legal Status of the University*

It is not generally realized that the Catholic University was quite illegal, and existed only because certain penalties were quietly allowed to fall into desuetude. Here is a quotation from a memorial submitted by staff and students to Gladstone in 1872:

> Such of your memorialists as 'profess to teach the liberal arts' are not only liable to be restrained in their office by the Court of Chancery at the instance of the University of Dublin, but are more-

> over legally subject to severe penalties, in virtue of the penal clauses of certain Acts of Parliament.—C, p. lxxi.

The first breach in the penal laws, occasioned by fear of the American revolt and the Irish Volunteers, was passed in 1782: 'An Act to allow persons professing the popish religion to teach school in this kingdom, and for regulating the education of papists.' On taking the oath of allegiance and obtaining a licence from the Protestant bishop, Catholics could teach Catholics, not Protestants. But 'nothing herein contained shall be construed to allow the erection or endowment of any popish university, college or endowed school.' Thus higher education outside T.C.D. was prohibited; and no Catholic school could be endowed.

Fear of the French Revolution in 1792 inspired the passing of 'an Act to remove certain restraints and disabilities therein mentioned, to which His Majesty's subjects professing the popish religion are now subject.' Catholics could become barristers, they could teach other Catholics. But only on taking the oaths of allegiance and abjuration prescribed in 1773; otherwise they were liable to transportation and death on return, as 'popish regular convicts.'

Next year (1793) there was passed 'an Act for the relief of His Majesty's popish or R.C. subjects of Ireland.' The oaths of allegiance and abjuration, with a special declaration against papal infallibility, were still imposed. Section 7 is especially relevant:

> It shall be lawful for papists . . . to hold or take degrees or any professorship in, or be masters or fellows of, any college to be hereafter founded in this kingdom, provided that such college shall be a member of the University of Dublin and shall not be founded exclusively for the education of papists.

Here was adumbrated a solution of Catholic grievances. But it was never acted upon; and when subsequently resuscitated, it was violently opposed by T.C.D.

Education on the Continent being stopped, the Irish bishops in January 1794 petitioned the Government for a grant. In June 1795 there was passed 'an Act for the better education of persons professing the popish or R.C. religion.' This declared that 'by the laws now in force in this kingdom it is not lawful to endow any college or seminary for the education exclusively of persons professing the R.C. religion.' The purpose of the Act was establishing, endowing and maintaining one academy, for Catholics. No Protestant or person whose father was a Protestant was to be admitted. The college, located at Maynooth, was administered by 21 Trustees, 17 being Catholics (including six laymen) and four Protestants. As a result of a memorial from the Trustees, Peel introduced a Bill to increase the grant. In spite of a

great outcry, this Act[2] received the royal assent on 30 June 1845. The Act of Disestablishment (1869), giving Maynooth its independence, left unrepealed certain provisions of the 1795 Act: members of the college were to take the oath of allegiance, statutes required the approval of the Lord Lieutenant. Needless to say, this law fell into desuetude.[3]

The 1795 Act, with its references to fellows and scholars, clearly intended the college to be of university status and not limited to professional clerical training. The Act excluded nobody but Protestants. In fact the bishops wrote to Grattan in February 1795 in favour of four provincial colleges for laity and clerics. The Hierarchy then decided to erect in Maynooth a building to lodge lay students who would attend the Arts courses. It was advertised for opening on 1 May 1800. In 1801, as a result of a communication from Lord Kilwarden, *ex officio* Visitor and Attorney General, the Government served an official intimation 'that no further steps should be taken towards establishing a lay boarding-school as part of the college.'[4] In 1802 the lay college was set up as a private foundation under separate trustees, without public funds. It was discontinued in 1817, as other places (such as Clongowes, 1814) were then available.[5]

The Emancipation Act of 1829 opened some positions excluded in 1793. But it still left it illegal for any Catholic to teach any subjects of higher education outside Maynooth, which was confined to clerics. Most, if not all, of the other Catholic colleges remained under the prohibition of 1782. Moreover, the Act re-enacted penal measures against Catholic religious, who had to be registered under a penalty of £50 a month; any such entering the country was to be sentenced to life-banishment.[5]

It was therefore asserted in 1872:

> At this moment, every Catholic engaged in teaching or professing the liberal arts in Ireland, without the special licence of the Crown, is liable to all the penalties enacted against 'Popish regular convicts', i.e. transportation and death.—*Intermediate and University Education in Ireland, by a Committee of Irish Catholics,* 1872, p. 290. (Probably written by Dr Woodlock.)

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[2]The Trustees were incorporated and consisted of elected members and five Crown nominees. In October 1843 Stanley wrote to Peel, advocating the measure as 'at once a control over the education and a hold upon the affection or the interests of the R.C. priesthood.'—C. S. Parker, *Sir Robert Peel* iii, 56.

[3]Healy, *Maynooth College Centenary,* 1895, pp. 480, 491. The Trustees actually proposed an amending Act.

[4]*Cornwallis Correspondence* iii. 366. No rival to T.C.D. for Catholic laymen would be tolerated. Peel in the House of Commons, in April 1845, made it clear that it was the Government which intervened to exclude lay students.

[5]Wellington and Peel assured Rev. Dr. O'Connor that 'the portion of the Act having reference to the regular clergy could be enforced only by the Attorney General, a contingency which they believed would never take place'. It was window-dressing for the bigots.

(3) *A Charter for Degrees*

The C.U.I. was refused not only an endowment but power to confer Degrees. In a letter written in 1881 Newman summed up the situation:

> What was done as regards the university? First, Peel set up his godless colleges, aided by public yearly grants . . . Then our bishops set up in opposition their university . . . We were obliged to raise £5,000 a year from the peasantry; and this we did for 20 years! There was no cry for money from us then. All we asked, and what we could not get, little as it was, was the power of granting degrees. No: we were not even to have a fair stage. At length the Irish took, in defence of the peasantry, to ask for money—WW ii, 518.

Already in his Report for 1854/55 he pointed out that, though the Holy See had given the university authority to confer degrees, it would be difficult to find an instance 'in which Academic Degrees were not accompanied by State recognition and civil privileges.'—C, p. 26. He was not so much concerned with theological as with secular degrees.[6] This was the situation he faced:

> On the question of conferring Degrees: the safe way seemed to be to gain the power from the State, or to obtain a Charter for the University as a university; and so felt the safe men. On the other hand, the go-ahead Irish party were for giving Degrees at all risks and in spite of consequences. I liked the idea of the latter course, but did not think we were up to it . . . What I most inclined to was the Louvain plan . . . There Theological Degrees are given by power from Rome; and Degrees in other Faculties by passing examination before the State Board of Examiners. And besides this, they confer their own Degrees (i.e. Roman Degrees) in (at least) Arts, which are taken by the bishops for Church schools, though they have no legal validity—C, p. 301.

In 1858 there was a memorial from the Catholic University, and next year a deputation, to Disraeli, in a vain attempt to obtain a charter. The memorialists referred to Laval University in Quebec. The case is apposite by way of contrast between the British Government's treatment of Canadian and Irish Catholics. Laval was given a Royal Charter on 8 December 1852, in consequence of the recommendation of Lord Elgin and his Ministers:

> We have no hesitation in acknowledging the justice and propriety of securing to the numerous and important body of Catholics in Canada the benefit of a university which they have been until now deprived of.

The Archbishop of Quebec was Royal Visitor and also today Apostolic Chancellor. The Superior of the Seminary was *ex officio*

[6] In 1899 the Pope granted Maynooth authority to confer degrees in Philosophy, Canon Law and Theology.

Rector. Subject to the Archbishop, the University Council (16 clerics and 6 lay members) makes statutes and appointments. In 1876 Pius IX gave it a papal charter. The university still flourishes, and it is subsidized by the Province of Quebec.

A similar project for Ireland failed. In 1865 The O'Donoghue moved in Parliament for a charter for the Catholic University. In January 1866 the bishops petitioned the Home Secretary (Grey) and submitted a draft of a charter.[7] Instead, the Palmerston Government proposed to incorporate the Catholic University and to open scholarships and degrees of the Queen's University to externs. Before resigning on defeat (on 18 June 1866) the Government issued a supplemental charter empowering the Queen's University to grant degree to students of the C.U.I. This was bitterly opposed by the Queen's Colleges and was on a technicality invalidated by the Court of Chancery. Newman was in favour of this association with the Queen's University, as a temporary expedient and with some safeguards, though he was opposed to utilizing London University.[8] Of course, Trinity College could have come to the rescue and given degrees to the students of the C.U.I. It preferred to keep its monopoly and to await the demise of its Catholic rival.[9] A professor of T.C.D. made a public protest which is worth quoting as an honourable memorial:

> Twenty-seven out of twenty-nine of the Irish Catholic bishops ask for a Catholic University Charter and endowment, and are supported in this claim by an overwhelming majority of their flocks. The Irish Catholics asked the English Parliament for bread, and they gave them a stone. Instead of a Chartered University with fair endowment and perfect freedom of education, they received Queen's Colleges which were condemned as godless and which they were prohibited by their Church from using.—Rev. S. Haughton, *University Education in Ireland,* 1868, p. 17.

(4) *University Government*

The administrative structure of the Catholic University was largely based on that of Louvain. Legislative functions were vested in the Senate. In addition to the members engaged internally in teaching and administration, Newman proposed that it should be opened to

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[7]*Cullen, Writings* ii. 450. The Governors were to be the 4 archbishops (who were also Visitors) and 8 bishops.

[8]He once wrote to Monsell: 'It is impossible that we affiliate to any body which will not give us the right to having examiners of our own in history, metaphysics, etc.'

[9]T.C.D. is empowered to confer degrees on externs and on those who have had a very limited attendance. For years it granted degrees to women who had taken out courses in Oxford or Cambridge. Today it gives degrees to students of Magee College who pursue only one-sixth of their course in Trinity.

Fellows (who in a civilly recognized university would be Doctors). Social influence was thus to be balanced by 'a number of learned persons scattered through the country' (C, p. 62). There was also an Academic Council, in which the Rector had considerable authority. In 1857 the Senate proposed extra powers for the Council. This was opposed by Newman who deprecated such 'democracy'. 'The Rectorship.' he said, 'would simply be put into commission' (M, pp. 454, 482). Through Cardinal Cullen's influence, against Archbishop MacHale and other bishops, Newman secured for the Rector the prerogative of presenting the professors for appointment.[10]

As this was a papal university, the final authority (*summum jus*) lay with the bishops.[11] MacHale and other bishops were in favour of vesting the authority in the assembly of all the bishops. But in 1854 Propaganda in ratifying the statutes lodged the supreme authority in the four archbishops, instead of an unwieldy body meeting once a year. In 1859 the bishops appointed a permanent Board consisting of the four archbishops and eight bishops. In 1869 the four archbishops were made Visitors, one of them being Chancellor.

This system gave considerable power to Cardinal Cullen, concerning whom in this respect the current versions appear to be unfair and one-sided. Newman's own comments on Cullen (as on Faber and others) must not be taken too literally; allowance must be made for Newman's supersensitive character and for Cullen's reticence. When the evidence is examined objectively, there is little or nothing to support the widespread thesis of constant interference and thwarting, especially by Cullen. In a letter dated April 1856, Newman wrote:

> I suppose the divisions in the episcopate and clergy here is greater than ever it was; and I think Dr Cullen does not call the bishops together, from the prospect that they would confirm nothing that I have done. It must not be forgotten that Dr MacHale has made a point, whenever he has had an opportunity, of protesting against every one of my acts.—M, p. 390.

Yet, in the following July, he wrote:

> We are now ending our second year. The bishops have just met, have approved of all I have done, have passed all my appointments, and agreed to all my prospective expenditure for three years. They were unanimous and showed me great respect.—M, p. 395.

This was undoubtedly due to Cullen's influence and co-operation. On many issues he backed Newman against opposition from MacHale

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[10]M, pp. 295, 353. In 1869 the Rector was to propose three candidates to the bishops.

[11]It should not be forgotten that most of the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges were then ruled by Anglican clergymen. For long after Newman's time T.C.D. was governed by a Provost clergyman and seven Senior Fellows, six of whom were clergymen. Only in 1904 was a lay Provost first appointed.

and others: avoiding wasting money on elaborate new buildings, the purchase of premises for a medical school, ample powers for the Rector, provision of a small Board, approval of the appointment of several Catholic English converts.

Cullen did indeed express doubts and views different from those of Newman; but he did not press them into effective intervention. Neither of them had the slightest sympathy with the militant views of New Ireland. Cullen deprecated the appointment of several ex-members as professors; but he allowed Newman to have his way. It is likely enough that Cullen had views on discipline more suited to a school than to a place of higher education. But there is no evidence that he interfered; neither under Newman nor under Woodlock did the university resemble a seminary. On one point indeed Cardinal Cullen, but only in conjunction with the other bishops, opposed Newman, who wanted a layman (Prof. Butler) as Vice-Rector; they insisted on a priest.[12] Newman, indeed, was afraid that the university would become 'priest-ridden'. But, at his departure, of the 32 professors only 5 were clerics: 4 in theological subjects and an Alsation in modern languages.[13]

However, there is no doubt that in the issue of lay co-management, Newman's views were in advance of his time. As regards the university he wanted laymen not only to have charge of finance but to be represented on the Board. Writing in 1867, he declared:

> I have been trying to recollect our Dublin difficulties . . . As far as I can recollect, they were these: (1) division among the bishops . . . (2) the want of power to give Degrees, (3) the exclusion of laymen from influence in the management of the university, but even of the accounts.—WW ii, 197.

Reasons 1 and 2 could be subsumed under the absence of determined public opinion among clergy and laity, emphasized by W. K. Sullivan. The third was undoubtedly a subsidiary but influential cause, not only as regards the apathy of the educated laity but also in hardening the *non possumus* attitude of the British Government. Newman was not alone in his view. Referring to lay representation on the Senate, Père Leman, the founder of Blackrock College, wrote in 1864:

> The bishops do not understand the nature of this undertaking at all, and they are completely in charge of all matters. They have excluded the laity, in whom they have little confidence, for a long

[12]As I already pointed out, it was only in 1961 that a layman was appointed Vice-Rector of the University of Montreal.

[13]M, p. 502. Similarly in the present University College, Dublin, of the 101 Professors and University Lecturers only 8 are clerics; 5 are Protestants. (Of the students over 11 per cent are clerics or religious.) The Senate has always been preponderantly lay.

time now. I have been urging on Mgr Woodlock repeatedly to demand that the lay element be represented on the Senate.

In 1874 Newman told Woodlock that the bishops 'won't further the university until they trust educated lay Catholics more.' But in Ireland, apart from the fact that educational initiative lay with the clergy, there was a special reason for avoiding internal disunity. This was well expressed in 1866 by W. K. Sullivan (p. 23):

> A perpetual struggle has been waged to deprive the Irish bishops and clergy of all rights whatsoever. Ought we then to be surprised should we find them overstepping the limits of their province and taking on themselves the functions and rights of laymen in education or other matters? But it would be a great mistake to suppose that Irish Catholics are desirous of handing over lay education of any degree to the exclusive control of the clergy. And if they seem at any time to do so, it is because they see that the opponents of both alike would take advantage of any temporary disunion between them, to magnify lay independence into religious dissent and to perpetuate Protestant ascendancy and political injustice.

It must not be supposed that this scission between clergy and laity was a purely Irish phenomenon. It was equally manifested in England. Newman himself wrote that 'on both sides of the Channel the deep difficulty is the jealousy and fear which is entertained in high quarters of the laity.' (WW, i, 367.) Still more did it exist on the Continent where anticlericalism, freemasonry and resurgent nationalism were in alliance. The old order was passing, the human structure of the Church was in disequilibrium. Only in our own day are thesis and antithesis merging into a synthesis. All honour to Newman for his prophetic insight. Already in 1881 he foresaw the only viable system for the higher education of the Irish Catholic laity:

> By a Catholic university I mean one in which the officers and teachers are Catholics. And I demand it for Ireland because the country is Catholic. This would be secured by the bishops having a veto on appointments.—WW ii, 519.

(5) *The Catholic Medical School*

In his Report for 1855/56, Newman wrote:

> Did our efforts towards the foundation of a Catholic university issue in nothing beyond the establishment of a first-rate Catholic School of Medicine in the metropolis, as it has already done, they would have met with sufficient reward.—C, p. 64.

The building in Cecilia Street, which had been used by a discontinued private medical school, was purchased by Newman in 1854 through Dr Ellis. He also proposed a lodging-house for the medical students. Beginning with about 50 students, by 1900 it was the largest

medical school in Ireland with 260 students. The need for Catholic practitioners was obvious; Newman pointed out that of 111 medical practitioners in Dublin in situations of trust and authority only 12 were Catholics.[14] Two innovations were involved in the Medical School. Most of the students had never passed through the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. And they were able to secure civil recognition, not indeed by way of a Degree but by obtaining a Licence on passing the conjoint examinations of the Colleges of Surgeons and Physicians.[15]

A further innovation was introduced in 1892, when the Catholic School of Medicine was incorporated separately under a scheme in accordance with the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act of 1885. Hitherto it had been under the episcopal governors of the Catholic University. The bishops now placed £4,000 in the hands of the new Board of Governors. This comprised *ex officio* members: the Archbishop of Dublin, the Rector of the Catholic University, the Dean of the Medical Faculty, the Dean of Residence; and seven other members: one appointed by the bishops, three by the Faculty, and three extern practitioners chosen by the bishops. The Board of Visitors consisted of the four archbishops and three co-opted members (two barristers and one medical doctor).[16]

The testimony of Dr Birmingham, Professor of Anatomy, in 1903 is worth quoting, as showing that no lay dissatisfaction existed here:

> There has never been at our Board even the suggestion of conflict between lay and clerical opinion . . . It is but due to the ecclesiastical members of the Board to add that they have invariably left technical matters in the hands of the Medical Faculty, whose opinion on all such questions is held to be supreme. They have refrained from all meddlesome interference with the teaching in the school; they have never imposed nor sought to impose any restraints on either the professors or on the subjects taught; nor have they even made inquiries on the matter, feeling satisfied, I am sure, that the professors would take care to treat subjects in which questions of faith might arise without any bias against Catholic belief.—Rob. iii, 329.

The Medical School, in addition to having a majority of lay governors, involved further modifications of the old idea of a Catholic university institution. In the old C.U.I. all the professors had to make

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[14]The need for Catholic hospitals was not met until after Newman's time. Much later a Cecilia St. student could not obtain an appointment in the S. Dublin Union or in any Dublin hospital except the Mater and St. Vincent's.—Prof. E. J. McWeeney: Fry, q. 2887.

[15]Several were able to obtain the M.D. Degree of the Queen's University, merely by adding about six months' attendance at a Queen's College. After the Royal University was established, the students could, of course, obtain a medical degree.

[16]Already in 1855, Newman, to eliminate uncertainty asked the bishops to provide a separate trust and endowment for the Medical School.—C, p. 53.

a Catholic profession of faith. Not so in the Medical School (or in the later U.C.D.); in fact out of ten professors one was a Protestant. Originally the students of the Catholic University had to pass an entrance examination which involved St Matthew's Gospel and a Catechism. In the Medical School 15 to 20 students were Protestants. This seems to have been also the case in the Catholic University shortly after Newman's time. For we find this statement in the Memorial presented by the Rector, professors and students of the C.U.I. to Gladstone in 1872:

> Although this university was founded and its statutes framed for the Catholics of Ireland, it imposes no religious test on students who do not profess the Roman Catholic faith, and does not require them to attend any instruction or comply with any observance of the Roman Catholic religion; and as a matter of fact non-Catholic students have not only received its instruction but have also enjoyed its prizes and emoluments.—C, p. lxxi.

VI—Newman on Education

(1) *Liberal Education*

So much has been written on Newman's university ideal that it would seem futile to seek to add anything new. Yet when we are considering its relevance to the Catholic University of Ireland, some precautionary clarification is needed. We must look beyond the Discourses, finally published as *The Idea of a University,* not only to Newman's other writings[17] but especially to his actual work in organizing the C.U.I.

At first reading, the *Idea* seems inconsistent with the author's previously expressed views.

> That a university education is to be liberal had consistently been his view; but that a university can be defined without reference to religion as a praxis was here new with the author.—Leo Ward, C.S.C, *Blueprint for a Catholic University,* 1949, p. 303.

More than a decade previously Newman had declared that 'Christianity, and nothing short of it, must be made the element and principle of all education.' He certainly did not change his view on becoming a Catholic. The apparent discrepancy is due to the fact that in the *Idea,* especially in the opening discourses, he resolved on a *tour de force,* on an abstract argument which would be acceptable to hostile critics such as those of 'the Queen's Colleges party.' Writing to Ornsby on 14 March 1852, he told him: 'I am going to treat the whole subject not on the assumption of Catholicism, but in the way of

[17]Especially his 'Tamworth Reading Room' (1841), reprinted in *Discussions and Arguments,* 1891, pp. 254-305; also Eight Sermons preached before the C.U.I. in 1856/57, in *Sermons preached on Various Occasions,* 1857.

reasoning and as men of all religions may do.' (C, p. lxii.). So the opening paragraph reads:

> The view which these Discourses take of a university is of the following kind: that it is a place of teaching universal knowledge. This implies that its object is on the one hand intellectual, not moral; and on the other hand that it is the diffusion and extension of knowledge rather than the advancement. If its object were scientific and philosophical discovery, I do not see why a university should have students; if religious teaching, I do not see how it can be the seat of literature and science.

'Universal knowledge' must not be misunderstood. Newman seemed to interpret the term *studium generale* as implying a place where all subjects are taught. But he corrected this in an appendix to the first edition (1852) of the *Idea*. He there admitted that a particular university may not include all branches, but all are 'presupposed or implied and none omitted on principle.' (M, p. 309.) He attacked the current idea that a university is 'a sort of bazaar or pantechnicon, in which wares of all kinds are heaped together for sale in stalls independent of each other.' (C, p. 247.)

By universal knowledge Newman explained that he meant intellectual culture, a synthetic outlook based upon digested knowledge:

> That only is true enlargement of mind which is the power of viewing many things at once as one whole, of referring them severally to their true place in the universal system, of understanding their respective values and determining their mutual dependence. . . The true and adequate end of intellectual training and of a university is . . . what may be called philosophy.—I, pp. 136f, 139.

This mental development was for its own sake, not for any ulterior end; it meant culture and not professional skill, refinement rather than effectiveness. 'Liberal education makes, not the Christian, not the Catholic, but the gentleman'—I, p. 120. But it may be graced by religion, even if conventional and diluted. All this, on the assumption that it is the *total* picture, leads us to the ideal of Oxford in Newman's day.

> Its classical statement occurs in Newman's *Idea of a University* and is inimitable. But in substance it is by no means peculiar to Newman, and there is nothing about it that is specifically Catholic. He is drawing on his recollections of Oxford and is painting its characteristic excellences. What he depicts is Jowett's ideal of Oxford quite as much as his own.—Sir Walter Moberly, *The Crisis in the University*, 1949, p. 30.

But this interpretation is based on a complete fallacy. It assumes that Newman's *idea* is his ideal; that his discourses contain his whole view; that his abstract treatment, largely indeed concreted

in Oxford, conveyed the total of what he conceived a university should be. It is due to Newman's unfortunate terminology and approach, undertaken to placate outsiders, that this misinterpretation is so general. By 'bare idea' Newman really meant the specific end of a university. But the specific end of a human activity does not oust the necessary generic characteristics. The end of medical practitioners and hospitals is not goodness but health; this however does not involve dehumanizing the patient, treating him as a biological organism instead of a person with rights and ideals. The end of education as such is distinct from that of missionary activity. The end of higher education is culture, in itself an amoral objective though a secondary good of man; learning can be a disservice to society. But, in its complete existential reality, a university is not confined to its 'idea', its essence; dealing with persons living in society, it has the generic responsibility of religious formation (shared with churches) and professional equipment (shared with technological institutes). These rather platitudinous distinctions were of course well known to Newman. Why have so many 'Newmanites' forgotten them?

When we come to consider a Catholic university, Newman's abstract approach is more obviously insufficient. Rev. Leo Ward writes (p. 306):

> I think we may say that he did not aim at giving any definition of liberal learning 'in a Catholic form'. Thus it is not easy to say what Newman meant by a Catholic university.

That is, unless we examine what he said and did as Rector of a Catholic university. If we confine out attention to the *Idea,* we may once more be misled by the peculiar phraseology.

> It is the business of a university to make this intellectual culture its direct scope, just as the work of a hospital lies in healing the sick or wounded . . . I say, a university, taken in its bare idea, and before we view it as an instrument of the Church, has this object and this mission.—I, p. 125.
>
> Such is a university in its *essence* and independently of its relation to the Church. But practically speaking . . . the Church is necessary for its *integrity*. Not that its main characters are changed by this incorporation. It still has the office of intellectual education; but the Church steadies it in the performance of that office.—Preface to *Idea.*

It would be wrong to infer from this that the Church ceases to have the non-specific task of moral and religious formation in higher, as, with appropriate gradation, in the lower stages of education. Nor should we regard Catholic theology, with its underlying philosophy, as added from outside, as an extraneous subject. Similarly in a Catholic hospital, even the technique is kept within certain moral bounds

(e.g. as regards some operations); but still more the *total* treatment is different, it caters for the personal dignity and the religious needs of the patients, not to mention the example of dedication in devoted service. So in a Catholic university the viewpoint interpenetrates even the teaching of secular subjects. In a Discourse not reprinted in the *Idea,* Newman made this clear:

> No subject of teaching is really indifferent in fact, though it may be in itself; because it takes a colour from the whole system to which it belongs, and has one character when viewed in that system and another when viewed out of it. According then as a teacher is under the influence or in the service of this system or that, so does the practical effect of his teaching vary.—C, p. 257.

(2) *Cultural and Professional Education*

Only when we pass from the *Idea* to Newman's statements and programme in Dublin, do we learn what was his conception of a Catholic university. Here is the account of the address he gave to the first students on 5 November 1854:

> Dr Newman addressed the students to the following effect. He began by saying that the first question before them was: What are they here for? And the most obvious answer was: to prepare for their respective professions—law, medicine, the ecclesiastical state, engineering or mercantile pursuits. But that was not all that a university education was for . . . They were here to receive, no matter what their intended profession was, an education which would alike fit them for all. Of course, the university was also intended to provide an education of special use in the professions; but it was more than that, it was something to fit them for every place and situation they might meet with in life.—C, p. 320.

Already, in the previous May, he had indicated to the bishops among the objectives of the new institution: 'to provide a professional education for students of law and medicine.'[18] There was no question of confining the university to its 'idea'. His broad view of the rôle of the university is worth quoting as of significance today:

> I contemplated making provision at once for both the liberal and the professional education of the various classes of the community . . . I added other objects still larger as well as various in their nature, those for instance of providing philosophical defences of Catholicity and Revelation, of creating a Catholic literature, of influencing the general education of the country, of giving a Catholic tone to society,

[18]C, p. 93. He proposed an Engineering School, and pointed out the difficulty about Law that possession of a recognized University Degree meant a saving of terms at the Law Inns.—pp. 22, 30.

and of meeting the growing geographical importance of Ireland.—C, p. 9.

Newman, of course, assumed that the professions, with which a university was concerned, were such as for their proper functioning presupposed a general cultural background. This was given in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters (which we today call Arts).

> All members of the University [for the first two years] pursue the same studies and the same intellectual discipline . . . And then those who are destined for civil engineering, manufacture and similar pursuits betake themselves to the Faculty of Science; while the students in theology, law and medicine go off to the Faculties which bear those names respectively.—C p. 139.

Those who aim at the Licentiate (corresponding to our B.A.) remain on in the Faculty. As to the others, Newman grimly adds: 'It is important that the School of Letters has now lost those who never really belonged to it, and who used it by constraint as the way to other schools.' He had no delusions as to the difficulty of enforcing on students 'a certain amount of liberal education, without any unreasonable postponement of the time when they are to enter on the duties of their particular calling.'—C, p. 99.

His scheme for the preliminary course for those aiming at a profession (other than teaching) is as follows. The entrance examination (at 16 years of age) comprised these subjects: Latin, Greek, Geography, Mathematics, and the matter of St. Matthew's Gospel and of any approved Catechism (C, p. 130). But 'deficiency in Greek may be compensated by proficiency in mathematics.' (An ominous sign for the future.) The concluding examination taken after two years included the following (C, p. 135):

1. Latin.
2. Greek or a modern language.
3. One of the following: Philosophy, Criticism, Geography, Chronology, Mathematics, Logic, Physical Science.

'Besides these three subjects of examination every candidate must be prepared with an exact knowledge of the matters contained in some longer Catechism and in the four Gospels . . .'

Such was Newman's application of 'the idea of a university' to students aiming at a (non-Arts) profession. Now, even admitting the principle, we must modify its practice today. Students entering today are at least a year older, only very few have had a classical education. Also modern professional courses—in science, medicine, engineering—are much more intensive and prolonged. Clearly any cultural courses must be concurrent with the professional courses. Even on Newman's own principle such concomitance is demanded, for he ultimately

specified liberal education as primarily a synthetic outlook, a philosophy. But while (as we shall see) he envisaged a very comprehensive course, i.e. in Faith, he failed to provide any satisfactory course in Philosophy for students, say, in science and medicine. In the final cultural examination a student could take geography or chronology instead of philosophy. Even if he took the latter subject, here is what he would have:

> Philosophy: e.g. Cardinal Wiseman's Scientific Lectures; Fénélon on the Existence of God; Schlegel's Philosophy of History.

Surely very meagre diet! But we must not forget that he wrote before the revival of Catholic philosophy and the rehabilitation of St Thomas Aquinas.[19] Newman, primarily a patristic scholar, relied chiefly on the exposition of theology applied to lay needs. Nowadays there is even more need of philosophy as well.

R. M. Hutchins, then Chancellor of the University of Chicago, was really following Newman in his book *The Higher Learning in America* (1936). He protested that 'vocationalism leads to triviality and isolation: it debases the course of study and the staff; it deprives the university of its only excuse for existence' (p. 43). He had to reject theology as a culturally unifying influence in a secular or mixed university. So he proposed philosophy instead: 'If we cannot appeal to theology, we must turn to metaphysics. Without theology or metaphysics a unified university cannot exist' (p. 99). Under metaphysics he included man and nature, man in society, ethics, natural science. But there is even less agreement about these topics than about theology. So Hutchins's successor (Kimpton) declared that 'metaphysics is impossible.' It would seem that Newman's 'idea' is viable only in a Catholic university.

(3) *Religious and Moral Formation*

Many modern adherents of Newman's *Idea* seem to ignore his arguments for including theology in the university curriculum, even for students in secular Faculties. As to a Faculty of Theology for professional theologians, it never really functioned in the C.U.I. Newman left this to the bishops. In October 1876 the Trustees of Maynooth declared that 'according to Catholic principles a university without a Theological Faculty is unworthy of that noble name.' So they made the Faculty to consist jointly of the Professors of Theology

[19]Referring to Maynooth, Milner says: 'One whole year is always devoted to logic and metaphysics upon Locke's system; and another to mathematics, physics and astronomy, in which Newton is the chief guide.'—*Inquiry into certain Vulgar Opinions concerning the Catholic Inhabitants and the Antiquities of Ireland*, 1808, p. 19. It is difficult to say when philosophy took its proper place in Maynooth; perhaps under Th. Esser, O.P. (1887-1891).

in the C.U.I. and of those in Maynooth. But, adds the historian (Dr Healy, p. 524), 'these regulations are all on paper.' So let us turn to Newman's chief interest: theology for the laity, given chiefly by a theological catechist.

Here is a quotation from his first sermon preached before the university in 1856:

> I wish the intellect to range with the utmost freedom and religion to enjoy an equal freedom. But what I am stipulating for is that they should be found in one and the same place and exemplified in the same persons. I want to destroy that diversity of centres, which puts everything into confusion by creating a contrariety of influences. I wish the same spots and the same individuals to be at once oracles of philosophy and shrines of devotion. It will not satisfy me, what satisfies so many, to have two independent systems, intellectual and religious, going at once side by side by a sort of division of labour, and only accidentally brought together . . . I want the intellectual layman to be religious and the devout ecclesiastic to be intellectual. —*Sermons Preached on Various Occasions,* 1857, p. 17.

Already in his *Idea* (p. 98) he had emphasized theology as providing the necessary cultural synthesis in a university:

> Supposing theology be not taught, its province will not simply be neglected, but will be actually usurped by other sciences.

As I have previously pointed out, this function would today be best, though not exclusively, performed by philosophy, especially as this subject can be made obligatory while theology is voluntary (as in the N.U.I.) But we must surely agree with him that religious education should ideally proceed *pari passu* with secular studies, as components of a total education:

> It is congruous certainly that youth, who are prepared in a Catholic university for the general duties of a secular life or for the secular professions, should not leave it without some knowledge of their religion . . . It is difficult to maintain that the knowledge of Christianity which is sufficient for entrance at the university is all that is incumbent on students who have been submitted to the academical course . . . If the subject of religion is to have a real place in their course of study, it must enter into the examinations in which that course results.—C, p. 159; I, p. 373.

He emphasized a point, still important today: that the religious instruction must be adapted to the mentality and the needs of the laity:

> As to theology itself . . . I would exclude the teaching *in extenso* of pure dogma from the secular school, and content myself with enforcing such a broad knowledge of doctrinal subjects as is contained in the catechisms of the Church or the actual writings of her laity. I would have students apply their minds to such religious topics as

> laymen actually do treat and are thought praiseworthy in treating.—C, p. 162; I, p. 376.

The course he advocated was by no means jejune: Biblical literature, Church history, the relations of the Church to society and to the State, the philosophy of religion, and so on.

Needless to say, Newman did not overlook the spiritual and sacramental element in the religious formation of university students. His University Church still stands to proclaim this. Indeed during his whole life he strongly opposed the despiritualization and secularization of life. In a letter of 1878 he wrote:

> For the last fifty years, since 1827, there has been a formidable movement among us towards assigning in the national life political or civil motives for social and personal duties, and thereby withdrawing matters of conduct from the jurisdiction of religion. Men are to be made virtuous and to do good works, to become good members of society, good husbands and fathers, on purely secular motives. We are having a wedge thrust into us which tends to the destruction of religion altogether.—C, p. liii.

Now it is true, as Fr McGrath says (p. 280), that 'the question of how, in practice, morality was to be provided for, did not enter specifically into the scope of the Discourses.' Once more we must remind ourselves that Newman's *Idea* was not the full expression of his view of university education. Indeed, by its rather artificial structure, it has almost lent itself to a rather widespread caricature. As to moral and spiritual training, there was a particular reason for reticence, for Newman was picturing a university in the Oxford sense, as distinct from the colleges to which such training chiefly if not altogether pertained. But the Oxford system, involving enormous capital and endowments as well as a very extensive staff, is not reproducible elsewhere, except in the pale simulacrum of residential hostels for a small minority of the students. Hence to carry out Newman's religious ideal today we require chaplains and deans of residence, as well as courses in philosophy and theology.[20]

[*To be continued*]

[20] I have omitted (for the present) consideration of Newman's subsidiary views: research, tutors, residential halls, evening classes, affiliation of colleges, extern students.

The Mass in the Early Irish Church

JOHN RYAN

'CHRIST, our Pasch is sacrificed' (I Cor. V. 7). The close connection in the Christian mind between the old and the new covenant has consequences still liturgically discernible in Holy Week and during the Easter festival. But there were, of course, also profound differences. The Paschal Lamb was no longer eaten; for Christians, the Mass was the one all-sufficient sacrifice. The Didache (90/100) mentions this in the first century: 'On Sunday come together, break bread and return thanks after you have confessed your sins, that your sacrifice may be clean.' Disputes with friends were to be settled 'lest your sacrifice should be defiled.' Still more clear is the account given by St Justin in his Apologia (*c.* 150/5): (1) On Sunday the faithful assembled. (2) There were readings from the apostles and prophets. (3) The president (bishop) preached. (4) Prayers were recited by all (standing with hands upraised). (5) The kiss of peace was exchanged. (6) Bread, wine and water were laid before the president (celebrant). (7) He prayed and returned thanks. (8) Bread and wine were consecrated by the prayer used by Our Lord Himself. (9) The faithful answered 'Amen'. (10) Eucharist—Holy Communion—was distributed by the deacons.

It is obvious that the elements which went to make this framework were capable of an almost infinite number of permutations and combinations. In course of time four great liturgical families came to be distinguished: the Syrian, the Alexandrine, the Roman and the Gallican. Differences within these lead to a further classification in nine families: four in the East [*Syrian*—St James; *Egyptian*—St Mark; *Persian-Nestorian* or East Syrian; *Byzantine*—SS. Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen], five in the West. The five are: (1) the Roman and (2) Gallican, already mentioned; (3) the Hispano-Gallican, (4) the Ambrosian and (5) the Mozarabic. As far as Ireland is concerned, the connection, as might be expected, is exclusively with this western group.

Now it is a well-known fact of Roman history that in imperial times the two provinces of Gaul and Britain were intimately united. Caesar advanced from the conquest of Gaul to the first attempts at conquest in Britain. When Britain later was conquered, it became administratively an extension of Gaul. In race and in civilization Gaul and Britain had been closely akin. As provinces of the Empire they retained their individual characters, but otherwise remained united

in a sisterly union that remained unbroken through the centuries. From Gaul Christian missionaries passed to Britain. In the fourth century, when Britain had become, to a large extent, a Christian land, its closest bond of union continued to be with Gaul. The relationship of older and younger sister remained. Hence the liturgical features, which gave Gaul a place apart in the liturgical world, were found also in Britain. In other words, the liturgy in Britain was traditionally Gallican. Even when the Empire collapsed in the fifth century and Gaul was overrun by the Germanic peoples, the liturgy in what remained of Christian Britain (the lands of the Britons or Welsh) continued to be Gallican. Inded from the fifth century onwards the liturgy in Britain may be described as Old or Archaic Gallican, because it resisted innovations which the church in the new Gaul of the Merovingians thought fit to accept.

Ireland was converted by the Briton, St Patrick. We may take it that the liturgy introduced by him would be that which was in common use in Britain. It would therefore be (at any rate in its main features) Gallican. St Patrick would naturally transplant the customs of his own country to the country which he had converted to Christianity.

It so happens that St Patrick when referring to the Mass in his 'Confession' says merely *offerre sacrificium*. He does not use a more precise term. As the Mass in his day was a commonplace of Christian teaching and practice, it would be a waste of time to set about proving that the reference in *offerre sacrificium* is to our mass. A Christian church without the mass would be a contradiction too absurd to contemplate. Indeed Christianity had flourished for 1,500 years before a heretic arose bold enough to deny it.

The technical term for the mass in the languages of Western Europe came to be *missa*. Strange to relate, the word was not adopted into the Celtic languages, Irish and Welsh, in that sense. *Missa* in Irish documents denotes generally the whole liturgical service, from Matins and Lauds onwards, of which the Mass was, at least on Sundays and the greater feastdays, a conspicuous part. The Irish word for mass is *oifrend, aifreann* (Welsh, *offeren*). Whence did this term come? There is a curious piece of evidence to suggest that it came from the Ambrosian Liturgy in Milan. *Aifreann* derives from a Latin word *offerenda*. Now in Milan, as in the Orient, the bread and wine for mass were prepared beforehand and after the preparatory prayers and lections, when the catechumens had been dismissed, were brought in procession by the clergy to the altar. The choir then sang a sacred chant, which in the Ambrosian rite was called *Offerenda*. Thus the Irish word for mass is taken from a chant which marked the beginning of the eucharistic rite properly so-called, as distinct from the Mass

of the Catechumens. It is interesting to note that *Missa* and *Offerenda* stand more closely related to each other than one would be tempted to suspect. *Missa,* 'Mass', marks in all probability the point where the catechumens were dismissed; *aifreann, offerenda,* marks the moment soon after when the bread and wine were brought to the altar and the sacrificial rite commenced. *Offerenda,* as far as I can discover, was found as the name for this chant *only* in the Ambrosian liturgy. From North Italy, therefore, probably through South Gaul and Britain, the word made its way to Ireland. This being so, it is reasonable to conclude that the liturgy of the mass introduced by Saint Patrick into Ireland was, to some extent at least, that whose use had in his time become fixed at Milan and which spread beyond the boundaries of that great city and diocese to the neighbouring regions of north Italy and south Gaul. Even if the word did not become fixed in Ireland until the sixth century and then through British (or Welsh) influence, the argument holds good; the rite was not a novelty in Britain but used there in the days of St Patrick.

If we were present at St Patrick's mass, what would it be like? It is not an easy question to answer, the reason being that the end of the fourth century is a period of liturgical upheaval in the West. The ritual of the mass seems to have been more or less the same everywhere till about 350. Then the ferment began. The exact ritual, therefore, in such places as Lérins, Arles, Auxerre, between 400 and 430 is difficult to determine. Of course the question is merely about the exact ritual, the words, gestures, sequence of prayer and actions, for the main features of the mass were the same everywhere in the West and indeed everywhere in the Church from the earliest times. From the prominence won by the Offertory chant of the Ambrosian rite we may regard it as probable that St Patrick's mass, if not completely of the Ambrosian type, had many Ambrosian characteristics. Such as it was, it seems to have been the only form of the mass in Ireland for about a century, until the rise of the great monasteries and close contact with Wales brought new impulses and new forms of liturgy into the Irish Church.

Witness to this change is the so-called *Catalogus* of the Irish Saints, which belongs to about the period 700 - 750. This records that Ireland received a missa or liturgy from David, Gildas and Docus, the Britons, in the sixth century. The result was a growing divergence in rite, with consequences felt right through the seventh century. Recommendations sponsored by a distinguished authority like Pope Gregory the Great influenced St Columban and generations of Irish churchmen after Pope Gregory's death. In fact the place of the great Pope in Irish tradition is unique. One feels that nine out of ten, if not ten out of

ten, Irish prelates would ask for no better solution to any problem than Pope Gregory's practice if they could only discover what it was. His prestige was simply unbounded.

The missals, in whole or part Irish, that still survive are three; or four, if we include some fragments. First comes the *Stowe Missal,* of which more shall be said presently. Extracts made in the sixteenth century from a missal at Fulda in Germany show that it was Irish and closely related to the Stowe Missal. This old *Fulda Missal* has disappeared and was probably destroyed in the upheaval of the Reformation. The *Bobbio Missal* belongs to the seventh or eighth century. It is a true missal with over sixty separate masses. Paleographically it appears to have been written on the Continent. Controversy continues on the question whether it is an Irish missal copied and revised by Gallican scribes, or a Gallican missal revised by Irish scribes. The truth could well be the former, for it is fundamentally very Irish in character, that is to say, it has a Gallican base with an amount of material—Irish, Roman, Spanish, perhaps Ambrosian—taken from other sources. In Ireland at this time churchmen were frankly eclectic; they were looking for a liturgy that was devotional and were not slow to accept it from any recognized Catholic source. If the bunting was of many colours, they rejoiced rather than repined. At St Gall there are fragments of Irish sacramentaries, one in Irish script, with portions of masses for the Circumcision and the Epiphany; the other with portion of a requiem mass, in which the story of the raising of Lazarus, which forms the Gospel, is in Old Latin, not in the Vulgate text. There survives, too, a Carlsruhe manuscript (originally from Reichenau), written about the year 800. It contains a mass for penitents, a mass for captives, a mass for the dead; while another sheet written in a purely Irish hand and containing part of a mass in commemoration of saints, seems to have belonged originally to the monastic church at Clondalkin, for it has a reference to Crónán or Mochua, son of Lugaed, founder of the monastery on the site.

The Stowe Missal is so called because it belonged to the Library of the Duke of Buckingham before it passed into the possession of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin. It was catalogued at Stowe by Dr Charles O Conor, son of Charles O Conor of Belanagare, in 1819. Its history is in itself a mild romance.

First of all comes the question, where was it written? The answer begins with the *cumdach,* the cover or shrine made to hold it when it had become a venerable treasure. This *cumdach* bore an inscription in which a prayer was asked for Donnchad, son of Brian Boruma, King of Ireland. Now this Donnchad was never in fact King of Ireland. He was King of Munster from 1014 to 1063, when he was compelled to resign by his nephew, Toirdelbach Ó Briain. Donnchad

and his queen then set out on pilgrimage to Rome where Donnchad died in 1064, and was buried in Santo Stefano Rotondo. Now the grandiose title 'King of Ireland' is hardly likely to have been bestowed upon him outside his own dominions. We may take it therefore that before 1063 the Missal was in Munster and probably in the region within which Donnchad was accepted without question as King. This would be Thomond and Ormond, Clare and North Tipperary.

The *cumdach* also asks a prayer for Macc Raith Ua Dondchada, King of Cashel (in the local sense). He succeeded Cárthach (*a quo* Mac Meic Cárthaig, McCarthy) in that capacity in 1045 and died in 1052. Thus the inscription on the *cumdach* would have been written within the seven years 1045-1052.

Another face of the shrine bears inscriptions which show that work on the shrine was done by order of Philip O Kennedy, king or lord of Ormond, and the comarb of Lorrha, Gillaruadáin Ó Macá(í)n. O Kennedy died in 1381. Lorrha was in his territory of Ormond. The inference thus is that Ormond was that part of Munster in which the Missal was treasured in the tenth century. The O Briens and the O Kennedys belonged to the same stock; that Donnchad O Brien should be called therefore 'King of Ireland' in O Kennedy territory, when he was really only 'King of Munster', need cause no surprise. Mention of the Comarba of Ruadán [Cf. Rawl. B. 486 *Archiv. Hib.* I, 141] justifies the inference that the Missal was kept at Lorrha, where the old Irish monastery of St Ruadán flourished in the eleventh century and having adopted the Rule of St Augustine continued to flourish after the old Irish monasteries had ceased to exist towards the end of the twelfth century.

When the monastery of Lorrha was suppressed in the middle of the sixteenth century the Missal disappeared. No doubt it was taken to a safe place and hidden from the Protestants, who might have seized or destroyed it. The 'safe place' was itself forgotten. In 1735 it was to be revealed by a happy accident. John O Kennedy Fionn was engaged in rebuilding his castle at Lackeen (Leaicín), when the Missal sensationally re-appeared, built into a wall. From the O Kennedys the Missal passed into the possession of a Mr Dalton of Grenanstown, near Toomevara. Sir Richard Grace, M.P., of Boley, Queen's County, a great book collector (he had a library of 9,000 volumes at his death), acquired the Missal from Dalton. Grace presented the Missal to the Duke of Buckingham who took it to Stowe, where it remained until it was secured by the Royal Irish Academy and brought back to Dublin. Thus quite an amount of the history of Ireland for a thousand years could be built around this venerable manuscript.

But I have not answered the question—where was the Stowe Missal written? That it was in Lorrha before 1050 does not prove that the

book was written in Lorrha. For the actual writing was done at the beginning of the ninth century, if not earlier. Warner, who has given the best edition in the Henry Bradshaw Society series, gives the upper and lower dates of composition as 792-815. Thus it was written during the lifetime of Charlemagne. It must be said, however, that the arguments adduced by Warner are far from conclusive. In a literary list of saints included in the Missal the last to be recorded is Maelruain, founder of Tallaght, who died in 792. This is really the only argument in favour of Tallaght as the place of composition, the view that Maelruain was included only because the writer belonged to his own community. But Maelruain was a man of great distinction in the Ireland of his day and famous as a reformer of monastic observance. The movement known as that of the *Céli Dé* ('Friends of God') owed much of its inspiration and success to him. Warner concluded that the Missal was written in Tallaght, for use in its church, and suggests that it was carried as a spoil to Munster by Donnchad Mac Briain in 1026. Professor O Rahilly showed (*Ériu* X, 98 ff.) that this is most unlikely. He argued that the Missal was written in Tallaght, carried to Terryglass by Maeldithruib, a *suí* or scholar and anchorite in Terryglass and one of Maelruain's most eminent followers. He died in 841. The date is fixed by the expedition of Féidlimid to Carman (AFM, 841, AU, 840). According to Professor O Rahilly the Missal was transferred from Terryglass to Lorrha when Terryglass fell into decay (after 1164 when it is last mentioned in the Annals). For all this elaborate reasoning there is, it must frankly be said, no complete justification. In the fourteenth century the Missal is found at Lorrha. It could have been there when the *cumdach* was made to hold it in the eleventh century. It could quite well have been written there about the year 800. Thus the name which it would most suitably bear would be the Lothra Missal. That it should carry the name of Stowe in Buckinghamshire, a place with which its connection is utterly fortuitous and short-lived, is one of the many misleading *mirabilia* of our history.

It will be noted, of course, that the contents of the Missal may have been known and used for centuries before the existing manuscript was written about the year 800.

The Missal illustrates in the most perfect manner what I have just said about the eclectic habits of Irish churcmen in the matter of liturgy. Throughout the Missal there is one main hand. Thus it was written by one chief scribe. But very soon after his work was finished another scribe came along, erased much of what the first scribe had written and substituted therefor the prayers, etc., that pleased himself better. When the page was too small he inserted a slip. Happily he gives us his name, Maelcáich, but unhappily he cannot be identified

from other sources. The self-confidence with which the substitution was made by him suggests that he was either abbot of Lothra or that he worked to the orders of a new abbot of that monastery.

To come now to the masses in the Stowe Missal. The Ordinary of the mass begins:

> The Litany of the holy Apostles and Martyrs and Virgins. Incline unto my aid, O God! We have sinned, O Lord, we have sinned[1]: spare our sins; Thou who guidest Noah over the waters of the Deluge, hear us; Thou who with a word didst recall Jonas from the abyss, deliver us; Thou who didst stretch forth thy hand to Peter as he sank, help us, O Christ.
>
> Son of God, who didst show forth the wonders of the Lord to our fathers, show favour to us also. Stretch forth thy hand from on high. Christ, deliver us! Christ, hear us![2]

There follows the Litany beginning with *Sancta Maria* (*ora pro nobis*), then come Peter and Paul, Andrew, James and five others of the twelve Apostles; St Mark and St Luke: All ye saints, pray for us; be merciful (O Lord)![3]

Spare us, O Lord; be merciful (O Lord); deliver us, O Lord. From all evil deliver us, O Lord. Through thy cross, deliver us O Lord.[4]

This litany, written on a single leaf by an Irish hand, is found also in a St Gall MS of the eighth or ninth century. (Warren, p. 179).

[Maelcáich] *Oratio Augustini* [really, *Ambrosii*].

> As the prophet [Isaias 64, 6] says: All our righteousnesses (*iustitiae*) are unclean like a soiled rag (*pannus menstruatae*). We are not worthy to live, O Lord Jesus Christ; but thou who art God, willest not the death of a sinner. Pardon us for we are only flesh, that through works of penance we may enjoy eternal life in heaven. Amen.

Then the prayer: *Rogo te, Deus Sabaoth altissime . . .*

> I implore Thee, Most High God of Sabaoth, Holy Father, that Thou wouldst deign to gird me with the tunic of charity and to compass my loins with the girdle of thy love, that I may be able to ask forgiveness for my sins and earn pardon for the sins of the people here present and to immolate victims of peace for each one. Myself also, when I fall down confidently before Thee, do not allow to be lost, but vouchsafe to cleanse, to adorn and gently to receive. *Per Dominum nostrum.*

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[1]Litania Apostolorum et Martyrum Sanctorum et Virginum incipit. Deus in adiutorium meum (intende). Peccavimus, Domine, peccavimus.

[2]Libera nos, Christe; audi nos, Christe!

[3]Omnes sancti, orate pro nobis; propitius esto.

[4]Parce nobis, Domine; propitius esto; Libera nos, Domine. Ab omni malo, libera nos, Domine. Per crucem tuam, libera nos, Domine.

It is a prayer found in a number of French Pontificals and Missals of the ninth century. (Warren).

There follows a prayer with the added note: 'This prayer is chanted at every mass': *Ascendat oratio nostra . . .* 'Let our prayer ascend to the throne of Thy glory, O God, and let not our supplication return to us without increase. *Per . . .*'

Next comes a prayer (found also in the Bobbio Missal) on the Solemn Feasts of Saints Peter and Paul:

> O God, who in giving the keys of the heavenly kingdom to Thy blessed Apostle Peter, didst confer on him the pontifical power of binding and loosing (souls), look with favour on our prayers, and help us, O Lord, we beg of Thee, by his intercession, that we may be freed from the chains of our sins. *Per Dominum nostrum.*

There follows the *Hymnus Angelicus,* the *Gloria in excelsis Deo.*

Now come two collects; the first which may be used instead of *Deus qui culpa offenderis* on ordinary days:

> O God, who hast prepared for them that love Thee good things that cannot be seen, pour into our hearts the inclination to love Thee, that loving Thee in all things, and above all things, we may obtain Thy promises which exceed anything that we could desire. *Per Dominum. . . .*

Then come *Orationes et Preces Mis(s)ae Ecclesiae Romanae.* And first the prayer of St Peter, *Deus qui culpa offenderis*:

> O God, who art offended by our faults but appeased by our penitence, behold the groans of the afflicted and in Thy mercy remove those evils which in Thy justice Thou inflictest. *Per D.N.*

This prayer occurs also in the Bobbio Missal.

There follows the Epistle, taken from the First Letter of St Paul to the Corinthians, X, 26-38. This fixed epistle for daily use is a sign of great antiquity. The actual epistle chosen is found in no other liturgy save that of the Church of Malabar. Its aptness does not need to be stressed:

> Brethren, as often as you shall eat this bread and drink the chalice you shall show the death of the Lord until He come . . . (32). But whilst we are judged we are chastised by the Lord, that we be not condemned with this world.

There is no suggestion that other epistles might be in use, but of course lectionaries containing epistles and gospels would be found in every church; and this epistle may be given as a type rather than as the one epistle regarded as acceptable.

Between the Epistle and Gospel are a number of prayers and psalms, some found also in the Gelasian and Leonine sacramentaries (i.e. those of Roman origin); another found also in the Bobbio Missal:

> Almighty, everlasting God, who hast redeemed thy people by the blood of thine only begotten Son, bring to nought the works of the devil, burst the chains of sin, so that they who have obtained eternal life through the confession of Thy name may incur no debt to the author of death.

There follows a long *Deprecatio Sancti Martini pro populo* (St Martin's prayer for pardon for the people). In fact the prayer is of eastern origin. It is found in a different part of the Mass in the Gallican and Ambrosian liturgies. From these it came to Ireland. This, too, is the implication of the name of St Martin of Tours in the superscription. A notable reminder of the Byzantine origin of the prayer is the bidding: *pro piissimis imperatoribus et pro omni exercitu Romano* (for (our) most devout emperors and all the Roman army), which remained unchanged, though the cry was far from Constantinople to North Tipperary! However, this is in keeping with the prayer for profound peace and tranquillity from on high and for the Holy Catholic Church which is from one end of the earth to the other.

Before the Gospel is a rubric directing the 'half-covering' of the chalice. A tract at the end of the MS shows that the chalice was prepared before mass, as in the Gallican and Mozarabic and still in the Eastern rites.

The Gospel is taken from the sixth chapter of St. John:

> Our Lord Jesus Christ said: I am the living bread that cometh down from heaven. . . . He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him. . . .

A 'prayer of St Gregory over the Gospel' may have been said silently.

Following the Gospel is the Nicene Creed.

Then comes the Offertory, with many prayers:

> We beseech Thee, O Lord, to receive with favour the offerings of our devotion; and through the glorious sacrifice purify the hearts of Thy servants. *Per Dominum*. . . .

The commemoration of the dead:

> All our bishops, our priests, deacons, friends, male and female, our boys and girls, our penitents—may the holy sacrifice about to be offered bring benefit to them unto salvation.

Before the Preface comes the *Sursum Corda*, with responses. The Preface itself seems to be unique:

> It is truly meet and just . . . through Christ our Lord Thou Who, with Thine only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit, art one and

> immortal, God incorruptible and unchangeable, God invisible and faithful, God wonderful and worthy of praise, God strong and worthy of honour, God most high and august, God living and true, God wise and powerful, God holy and beautiful, God noble and good, God venerable and peace-making, God beautiful and sincere, God pure and kind, God blessed and just, God good and holy, not in the oneness of a single person but in the Trinity of one substance. We believe Thee, we bless Thee, we adore Thee and we praise Thy name for ever and ever, by whom is the salvation of the world, the life of men, the resurrection of the dead (accomplished). Through whom the angels praise Thy Majesty (as in the Roman rite). Blessed is He that came from Heaven that He might dwell on earth, was made Man that he might blot out the sins of the flesh, was made a victim that, through His Passion, He might grant eternal life to those who believe. Through our Lord, etc.[5]

The *Te igitur* is taken from the Canon Dominicus Papae Gelasii (the Roman rite) with some additions, e.g. mention of *seniores* in the memento for the living; for fine weather, crops, peace, the safety of kings and peoples (ríg ocus tuatha—very applicable in Ireland), for those in sickness and in pain that the divine love may deign to cure them (ut eos divina pietas curare dignetur). Special clauses were added on the feast of the Nativity, Epiphany, Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost.

The rest of the Canon is that of the Roman rite, except that there are some slight additions, e.g. in the Gelasian Memento for the dead:

> With all, holy and venerable priests in all the world, who offer the spiritual sacrifice to God the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, N..... our prelate offers for himself and for his people and for the company of the whole Catholic Church, that they may deign to beseech our Lord God for us.[6]

Next comes a litany: *Sancte Stefane, ora pro nobis; Sancte Martine, ora pro nobis.* There follow Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Hilary, Patrick, Ailbe, Finnian, Ciaran, Brendan, Columba, Comgall, Cainnech, Findbarr, Nessan, Fachtna, Lugaid of Clonfert, Molua,

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[5]*Vere dignum et iustum est . . . per Christum Dominum nostrum, qui cum unigento Filio tuo et Spiritu Sancto Deus es unus et immortalis, Deus incorruptibilis et immutabilis, Deus invisibilis et fidelis, Deus mirabilis et laudabilis, Deus honorabilis et fortis, Deus altissimus et magnificus, Deus vivus et verus, Deus sapiens et potens, Deus sanctus et speciosus, Deus magnus et bonus, Deus terribilis et pacificus, Deus pulcher et rectus, Deus purus et benignus, Deus beatus et iustus, Deus pius et sanctus, non unius singulariter personae sed unius Trinitatis substantiae. Te credimus, te benedicimus te adoramus et laudamus nomen tuum in aeternum et in saeculum saeculi, per quem salus mundi, per quem vita hominum, per quem resurrectio mortuorum. Per quem maiestatem tuam laudant angeli* [. . . as in Roman rite]. *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit de caelis ut conversaretur in terris, homo factus est ut delicta carnis deleret, hostia factus est ut per passionem suam vitam aeternam credentibus daret. Per Dominum . . .*

[6]Cum omnibus in toto mundo offerentibus sacrificium spiritale Deo Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto sanctis ac venerabilibus sacerdotibus offert Senior noster N. presbiter pro se et pro suis et pro totius ecclesiae coetu Catholicae . . . ut pro nobis Dominum Deum nostrum exorare dignentur.

Lachtene of Achad úr, Ruadán, Cárthach, Coemgen, Mochonna, Brigid, Ita, Scith, Sinech, Samthann of Cluain, Bronaig.

Remarkable at this stage is the *Oratio Ambrosii,* found also, with many variations of text, in a number of French missals later than 800.

> I stand, O Lord, before Thy Divine Majesty and presume to invoke Thy name. Have mercy on me, O Lord, for I am a sinful man sunk in the mire of uncleanness. Pardon, O Lord, Thy unworthy priest, by whose hands this oblation appears to be offered. Spare, O Lord, a sinner, polluted with the taint of sin, above all of mortal sin. Enter not into judgment with Thy servant, O Lord, for in Thy sight not many living shall be justified. We are borne down by the weight of our vices and the concupiscence of the flesh. Remember, O Lord, that we are but flesh, that there is none other to be compared with Thee. In Thy sight even the heavens are not clean; how much more then we who are made of clay? . . .

Yet another litany is here recited. It contains the names of a great many of the just, of the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament: Abel, Seth, Melchisadech, Abraham, Moses, David, Elias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Malachias, the Baptist and the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Apostles, Martyrs, Fathers of the Desert, St Martin, St Gregory the Great, St Patrick and his first episcopal helpers, St Ailbe of Emly, Conlaed of Kildare, Monenna of Cill Sléibe near Newry, Mac Nisse of Connor, Senan of Inis Cathaig, Findbarr of Cork, Declan of Ardmore, Búite of Monasterboice and the three successors of St Augustine in Canterbury—Laurentius, Mellitus and Iustus, St Finnian, St Ciaran, St Colmcille, St Comgall, St Kevin of Glendaloch and 'all who up to this day sleep in the Lord. To them all grant, we beseech Thee, a place of comfort, light and peace.'

The *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* is the same as that in the Bobbio Missal and in the Roman rite, except that St Patrick is inserted after Peter and Paul; *cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus, cum Petro, Paulo, Patricio, Johanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba.* 'By whom, O Lord, Thou dost always create all these good things . . . all honour and glory.'[7] The *Per quem* is sung three times. Then comes the intinction (of half the consecrated species in the chalice) and the *fractio*:

> They knew the Lord, alleluia, in the breaking of bread, alleluia. The bread which we break is the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, alleluia. The Cup which we bless, alleluia, is the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, alleluia, for the remission of our sins, alleluia. Let Thy loving kindness be with us, alleluia; even as we do put our trust in Thee, alleluia.

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[7]Per quem haec omnia, Domine, semper bona creas omnis honor et gloria.

> We believe, O Lord, we believe, that in the breaking of this Body and by the spilling of this Blood we have been redeemed; and we are confident that through partaking of this Sacrament we have been strengthened and that what we have now in hope we shall enjoy hereafter in full fruit in heaven. *Per Dominum* . . .

Preceding the *Pater Noster* is the formula: 'Instructed by the divine tutorship and formed by the divine teaching, we make bold to say Our Father.'[8]

In the *Libera nos, Domine,* once again St Patrick is included with Saints Peter and Paul. And then:

> The peace and love of our Lord, Jesus Christ, and the communion of all the saints be with us always. May the commingling of the Body and Blood of our Lord, Jesus Christ, be to us salvation unto everlasting life. Amen.

During the communion a long series of antiphons and alleluias was sung:

> The King of Heaven, with peace, alleluia! Deep fragrance of life, alleluia! Sing ye a new chant, alleluia! All ye saints, approach, alleluia! . . . (a phrase which gave the title for the eucharistic hymn, Sancti venite).[9]
>
> Come, eat ye my bread, alleluia!
> And drink ye the wine which I have prepared for you, alleluia!
> He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood, alleluia!
> The same abideth in Me and I in him, alleluia!
> This sacred Body and Blood of the Lord, Saviour, alleluia!
> Take for yourselves unto life eternal, alleluia![10]

A similar series is found in other Irish books—the Books of Dimna, Mulling and Deer, the St Gall fragment and the Antiphonary of Bangor.

After communion come antiphons and prayers of thanksgiving:

> Grant, we beseech Thee, O Lord, that we who have partaken of this heavenly gift may be cleansed from our secret sins and delivered from the snares of our enemies.

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[8]Divino Magisterio edocti et divina institutione formati, audemus dicere: Pater Noster. . . .

[9] Regem caeli cum pace, alleluia!
Plenum odorem vitae, alleluia!
Novum carmen cantate, alleluia!
Omnes sancti, venite, alleluia!

[10]Venite, comedite panem meum, alleluia,
Et bibite vinum quod miscui vobis, alleluia!
Qui manducat corpus meum et bibit meum sanguinem, alleluia,
Ipse in me manet et Ego in eo, alleluia!
Hoc sacrum corpus (et) Domini Salvatoris sanguinem, alleluia,
Sumite vobis in vitam aeternam, alleluia!

Finally: *Missa acta est, In Pace:* 'Mass is over, (go) in peace.'

The Stowe Missal has also three special masses: (1) for the saints, (2) for the class called penitents, (3) for the dead. Each has several beautiful prayers and a special preface. In the absence of rubrics, it is not possible to say how the prayers were distributed through the mass.

Last of all, mention must be made of the tract on the mass, in the Irish language, which is the third section of the Stowe Missal. In it a figurative explanation is given of the altar, the chalice, the host, the wine, the lections, the uncovering of the host and of the chalice, the elevation of the chalice (after the full uncovering thereof, *quando canitur oblata offerenda*), the words of consecration, the fraction (a very mystical explanation of the various particles, 65 in all), the intinction. Examples are: the host on the paten (*méis*) is Christ's flesh on the tree of the Cross. The fraction of the paten is the breaking of Christ's Body with nails on the Cross. The meeting of the two halves after the fraction is a figure of the wholeness of Christ's Body after the Resurrection. It is added that the mind during the mass should be kept intent on its symbols. In Holy Communion the portion of the Host received should be regarded as if it were a member of Christ from His Cross and the consequence drawn that the recipient should expect a portion of the Cross in his own life, and welcome it, since it unites him with the Crucified Body. After so much theorizing on symbols the tract ends on a wholesome note: 'it is improper to dispute overmuch on God's mysteries, lest heresy should be increased thereby!'

Here at any rate, about the year 800, is an Irish Missal whose masses show that the mass in Ireland then was what the mass is in Ireland now. Did the Holy Father permit, the Missal might be used in our Irish churches today. Every line shows orthodox Catholic doctrine. And the Missal shows a reverence for the holy sacrifice of the mass and a depth of devotion in its celebration that would warm the cockles of the heart of a modern liturgical enthusiast. We may take it that the first liturgy of the mass came to Ireland with St Patrick from Britain and Gaul. It is what in time came to be called Gallican in type. Later the Irish, through communication with Aquitaine, Southern Gaul and Spain, got to know of other liturgies, got to like them, and from them inserted into the old Gallican framework Mozarabic and Oriental elements. At the same time Irish churchmen themselves (just like the liturgical reformers today) were suggesting improvements, some of which found acceptance in the great Irish churches. As the earliest Irish biblical texts are Italic, derived from Italy, so the old Irish mass, modified in the course of time, was still further modified when the Irish got to know the Roman liturgy. This

is not surprising, for the prestige of Rome was immense. The earliest Roman Sacramentary, the Leonine (fifth to seventh centuries) is said to have been written in Gaul. The next, the Gelasian (seventh, eighth centuries), was compiled also in the Frankish Empire and has, especially in later redactions, a large Gallican admixture. This is the Sacramentary used in Northern France and Germany in Charlemagne's reign. The old Gallican rite was then falling back to the south and tending to disappear. It is important to note that the movement against it was not led by the Popes. Charlemagne was, in his later life, a mighty apostle of uniformity. At his request Pope Adrian I (784-91) sent him the sacramentary then in use in Rome. It went back in Rome to about 650 and possibly further, for tradition said that it was a revision made by Pope Gregory the Great. Hence its name, the Gregorian Sacramentary. Charlemagne ordered it to be used everywhere in his dominions. But even he could not get this order fully accepted. Almost all the manuscripts show additions from the Gelasian Sacramentary, and some from Gallican sources.

Hence the mass in Ireland, when the Stowe Missal was in use, did not differ widely from the mass in France. It differed still less from the mass said in France before 790, when Charlemagne, using his royal power, sponsored changes which are still felt in the Roman Missal.

The Economic Problems of Western Ireland

ROSEMARY FENNELL

UNDERDEVELOPED economies irrespective of geographical location often show great similarity in their economic structures. Social and class systems may differ fundamentally but agriculture provides a recognizable pattern from one country to another—output and productivity are low, as a result of low level farming techniques which rely extensively on tradition and custom. High population density on the land helps to intensify the problems. This pressure on the soil cannot be relieved easily because industrial development is in its earliest stages of growth. Surplus agricultural labour has no outlet and must remain on the land where part-time or unpaid farm labour conceals the real stagnation.

Farming is not pursued for cash returns but rather for home consumption: it is subsistence farming.[1] If little or none of the farm output is sold the lack of a money income must be met in some other way; hence the importance of subsidiary earnings which may for instance be sought in hunting, fishing or seasonal migration to towns or to other farming areas.

This summary outline is closely akin to the situation existing in the Congested Districts. The people live in a subsistence economy where the farm cannot provide sufficient income for the family. The deficiency is relieved by part-time and seasonal employment, the dole and remittances from abroad. Receipt of non-farm income is not a new phenomenon. Under the former landlord and tenant system, rent was one of the few contacts the farmer had with a money economy. Not infrequently the rent was paid out of earnings from seasonal migration or remittances from relatives in the United States.

Here the similarity betwen Western Ireland and 'orthodox' underdeveloped countries must end. Other factors must be taken into account. The infra-structure in the Congested Districts is vastly superior; the area forms part of a country well provided for by roads, educational and health services and all the other basic necessities of a developing economy. The people are not governed by restrictions of caste, religious or social taboos.

There is a further difference of great importance. The Westerner lives adjacent to an exchange economy in his own country, the influence of which is increasingly obvious in his life. He has freedom

[1] This term can be interpreted in various ways but generally if at least fifty per cent of the output is consumed on the farm and is not produced for sale the farm is a subsistence one.

of access to this economy as well as to Britain, North America and Australia. This ease of mobility provides the opportunity to move permanently into an industrialized society; a situation very different from that in most underdeveloped countries.

It would appear that there are as many points of dissimilarity as there are of similarity in the comparison. A more valid analogy might be the depressed areas of the United States, for instance, the region of the Appalachian Mountains. Here one finds poor land and below average size farms. Wherever possible, income is supplemented by earnings from mines, factories or shops and by relief. Migration out of the region is high.

International comparisons can be misleading and can produce wrong conclusions; cases of apparent affinity may prove to have different or conflicting causes. History and other non-economic factors, whether social, religious or racial, can have a profound influence. Further difficulty arises in comparing regions which are at different stages of growth. The motivations common in an exchange economy are neither present nor relevant in an underdeveloped society. One of the pitfalls of economic planning is to base growth on a more developed ideal ignoring the fact that no two countries have ever developed along exactly similar lines. Insufficient weight may be given to the local situation and the ratio of the factors of production can vary widely from place to place.

The influence of non-economic forces may be of great importance and the use of concepts such as profit maximization in the context of a subsistence economy is both useless and meaningless. Within their own environment the people in the Congested Districts are not governed by the principles obtaining in an exchange economy, though these principles are of steadily growing importance to them. The economic or farming criteria governing decision-making elsewhere appear somewhat irrelevant. On many farms the primary objective is not the maximization of profits, as will be seen in the section dealing with crops and livestock; on these farms the greater part of farm output is consumed on the farm. More often than not money income comes from sources other than the land. The existence of these alternative sources of income has helped to retain the idea that a small holding in the West is capable of supplying the needs of a family. If further depopulation and greater economic backwardness vis-à-vis the rest of the economy are to be avoided the West will have to enter the exchange economy. Industrialization should be of great help and one can but hope that the efforts of recent years in this field will prove successful. However, to ensure that the change-over may be really effective, agriculture must be put on a different basis and must assist in the creation and distribution of a larger income.

II

Seventy years ago, in 1891, the Congested Districts Board was established. It was recognized that certain parts of Ireland were suffering from economic and social problems more severe than found elsewhere. The primary functions of the Board were to assist agriculture, fisheries, home industries, and to undertake public works. The relief of congestion and the consolidation of holdings were not important considerations at the start, though some twenty years later they were to be the sole functions of the Board.

The term 'congested' did not originate with the Board as it had been in use at least as far back as 1882. It was regarded as an inaccurate description of the affected areas, conjuring up a picture of 'standing room only'—which was not the case even in 1891. However, it was retained for want of a better term.

The Congested Districts were made up of a number of electoral divisions in which the rateable valuation of the land was below 30s. per head, but before any electoral division could qualify for special assistance at least one-fifth of the population of the county had to be resident in these very poor areas. The districts which qualified under these tests were in Galway, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon, Sligo, Donegal and Kerry and the former West Riding of Cork.

In 1908, the Royal Commission on Congestion in Ireland recommended that the qualifying area be altered to include the whole of each county in which scheduled districts existed except in the case of Cork. There it was suggested that the area be reduced to include only the four rural districts of Bantry, Castletown, Skibbereen and Skull and recommended further that County Clare be regarded as congested. These recommendations were accepted and, with one minor exception,[2] this is the definition used here.

III

At the 1961 census, the population of Connacht, Donegal, Clare and Kerry was 723,151 persons.[3] In 1891 it was 1,214,028. Not only is this decline of 490,877 substantial, but it is relatively greater than the fall recorded elsewhere in the country. The Emigration Commission[4] summed up the position by saying that the counties with high rates

[2] West Cork has been omitted. There are unavoidable statistical difficulties involved when treating of an area smaller than a county. Statistics are usually published on a county basis and only infrequently are provided in more detailed form. Conditions prevailing in Kerry provide a sufficiently close likeness to those existing in West Cork that the omission of the latter is permissible.

[3] As a matter of interest at the same census the population of Dublin City and County was 716,156.

[4] Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems 1948-54, para. 282, page 131.

of emigration had some or all of the following characteristics: 'heavy density' of rural population, low valuation of agricultural land per head, high percentage of population living in rural areas and high percentage of agricultural area in small holdings'.

As a result of this exodus, population pressure has lessened considerably and in fact density of population per 100 acres of total land is below the national average. For example, in Clare and Leitrim where in 1891 density was 15.7 and 20.8, in 1961 it is as low as 9.4 and 8.9 respectively. In Sligo, the county with the highest density, it has fallen from 22.0 to 12.1. All this has happened while national density has dropped from 20.3 to 16.5 per 100 acres of total land.[5]

However, these county figures are rather meaningless unless the quality of the land is taken into account. This is particularly important in the case of the Congested Districts which are so well endowed with mountain, lake and bog. County Donegal has as much as 65 per cent of its total area officially classified as 'other land'.[6] This is over twice the national average of 31.5 per cent. If, to overcome this difficulty, population is calculated instead per 100 acres of crops and hay, the position is quite different. As can be seen from the following Table, national population density is 77.0 per 100 acres crops and hay and density in the Congested Districts ranges from 48.4 in Leitrim to 86.4 in Sligo.

POPULATION DENSITY IN THE CONGESTED DISTRICTS

	Persons per 100 acres Total Land	% of Land Classified as Other Land	Persons per 100 acres Crops & Hay
Ireland	16.5	31.5	77.0
Leinster	27.4	19.7	97.1
Munster	14.2	29.3	64.6
Connacht	9.9	42.2	68.2
Ulster (3)	11.0	44.5	60.4
Clare	9.4	28.6	48.5
Kerry	10.0	51.8	69.7
Galway	10.2	44.3	70.2
Leitrim	8.9	29.5	48.4
Mayo	9.2	56.1	82.5
Roscommon	9.7	20.6	49.3
Sligo	12.1	33.8	86.4
Donegal	9.5	64.8	76.6

SOURCES: Statistical Abstract, 1959, Irish Trade Journal, March 1961, and Census of Population, 1961.

[5] If Dublin is excluded these figures are 15.7 and 12.5 respectively.

[6] 'Other Land' includes woods and plantations, grazed and barren mountain, turf bog, marsh, water, roads, etc.

There is one further drawback to county density figures which is of some importance. They do not show up the fact that within the Congested Districts the areas with the highest population density are those with the poorest land resources. The situation is much clearer if density is measured on a rural district basis. There are for example 190.6 and 117.8 persons respectively per 100 acres of crops and hay in Clifden and Belmullet which are the two poorest rural districts, in Galway and Mayo, measured in terms of valuation per head. This intensifies the problems of the Congested Districts and helps to accentuate the features of a subsistence economy in these areas.

The demographic features of Western Ireland have a strong influence on the economic situation. As found elsewhere in Ireland, the marriage rate is low and age at marriage tends to be high. The crude birth rate is lower in Connacht than elsewhere in the country but the fertility rate is higher and thus families tend to be larger than elsewhere. The number in the dependent age groups is higher in rural areas generally, and as there are fewer urban areas in the West than in the other provinces, the number of dependents is higher in the Congested Districts than in the State as a whole. The responsibilities of those in the active age group are increased due to the heavy emigration of persons aged 15-30 which places a greater burden on those who remain. Besides these features, the age of farm inheritance is high, as is the number of persons who never marry. These facts are hardly conducive to progressive farming.

IV

In agriculture as in other forms of economic activity there are four factors of production—land, labour, capital and enterprise, and in small scale farming particularly there is a tendency for these factors to be badly proportioned—too much labour and too little of the other three. In attempting to increase output or productivity, more intensive use of land or capital gives a quicker and higher marginal return to the investment than the greater or more intensive use of labour. Thus the small farm stands at an initial disadvantage to the large, as the one factor of which it has plenty is the least useful in increasing production.

In Ireland, as elsewhere, population density is higher on small farms than on the large farms. In 1951 the density of those at work on Irish farms of under 15 acres was 72 per 1,000 acres of crops and pasture. This figure was twice that for all farms (36 per 1,000 acres) and more than three and a half times that of farms of over 100 acres (20 per 1,000 acres).[7]

[7] Commission on Emigration, para. 92.

The importance of these figures rests on the fact that approximately one-third of the holdings in each county of the Congested Districts is under fifteen acres. In the context of prevailing agricultural practices, overcrowding still exists on the small holdings: there is too little land and too many relatives assisting (this group of persons continues to form the greater part of the band of emigrants leaving the Congested Districts).

The primary economic justification for small holdings is their ability to develop intensive forms of production. It appears that this has not been the case in the country as a whole. 'The major differences between the changes in output of small and large farms, during the period 1931-1949, were the increases in the numbers of cattle of two years and upwards, and the decrease in the number of milch cows, pigs and poultry on the small farms, and, on the large farms, the expansion in the area under tillage and the increase in the numbers of milch cows and poultry.'[8]

This is a strange state of affairs; a trend towards intensive cultivation on the large and extensive cultivation on the small farms. It means that output per acre is rising on the large farms, reversing the traditional position. High output per man rather than per acre has always been the preserve of the large farm but it may score under both heads in the future. In these circumstances, the benefits of increased productivity and higher income are hard to obtain in an area where one-third of the holdings are under 15 acres, where output per acre is lower than anywhere else in the country and where the labour/land ratio is so far out of line.

If the principles of an exchange economy were relevant in the Congested Districts, cost accounting of the factors of production would provide a picture of resource waste, hidden under-employment and capital starvation on the land. As it is, we have to rely on depopulation and agricultural stagnation to prove that all is not well in Western Ireland.

V

The Congested Districts are an example of the small farm subsistence economy but of course there are small farms all over the country. It is not mere size that is of such importance but rather the fact that the small farms in the West are on the worst land. If this were not the case the problems of the area would be less acute.

The average size of holding in Ireland is thirty-one acres; excluding holdings under one acre, it is thirty-nine acres. In the Congested Districts the greatest percentage of holdings is in the 15-30 acre group,

[8] ibid, para. III.

except in counties Clare and Kerry where the highest percentages are in the 30-50 and 50-100 acre groups. Of all the holdings in the State, 59.5 per cent were below 30 acres in 1960. In the Congested Districts, Clare, Kerry, Galway and Roscommon had less than the national average of under 30 acre holdings. In County Mayo, the percentage under 30 acres was as high as 72.5 per cent.[9]

Farm size is rising even in the West and more holdings are now in the 30-100 acre class. Both the very small and the very large holdings are disappearing. Though the size of the Western holding is not too far out of line with the national average, this does not mean that a valid comparison can be made. The quality of the soil is so poor over large areas of the Congested Districts that the holdings would have to be very much above the national average before any valid comparisons could be made between the West and the rest of the State about the total 'land' resources available.

VI

One should expect that the high ratio of farm labour to land would lead to the cultivation of crops and the rearing of livestock which required the most intensive use of labour. This is not the case in the Congested Districts.

In 1960, about 18 per cent of the national corn crop was produced in the eight congested counties. Oats is by far the most popular crop, providing as much as 89 per cent of the corn crop in Donegal. The amount of oats grown has been declining but is still well above the acreage for wheat and barley, which provide the bulk of the remainder of the crop. Rye, beans and peas form an insignificant part of the total in each county.

The preference for oats is based on the fact that it grows on land which could not profitably produce wheat or barley. However, barley is increasing in popularity particularly in Clare, Kerry and Galway. Most of the wheat grown in the West is produced in the same three counties and is the only corn crop grown exclusively for sale.

A similar pattern of well defined crop preference exists in the case of root and green crops. These are more popular than corn crops in the West where 30 per cent of the national total of the former is produced. Potatoes form between 50 per cent and 90 per cent of the root and green crop. Donegal is the only county with a substantial seed potato business; in the other counties potatoes are grown mostly for home use. Turnips and mangolds are next in importance; sugar beet—a crop virtually unknown fifty years ago—is of increasing significance, particularly in Galway. Fruit is grown scarcely at all in

[9] These figures of distribution of holdings are influenced by the incidence of 'Other Land' which is only included in the area of a holding which is in single ownership.

the West. Kerry has the largest area under fruit in any of the eight counties but even there it amounted to only 400 acres in 1960. Most of the crops—whether corn, root or green—are grown for home use. Neither group is very popular, as can be seen from the fact that in 1960 the percentage of agricultural land[10] under crops was below 10 in each of the eight counties, with the exception of Galway and Donegal. Crops requiring intensive cultivation, such as fruit and vegetable, are rarely grown on a commercial scale.

Table I in the appendix gives the acreages of the three most widely grown of the corn crops and root and green crops in each county. The percentage of the county area under total corn, root and green crops is also given.

VII

The uniformity of choice between one county and another in the case of crops is not so much in evidence where livestock are concerned (details of which are to be found in the appendix). In the case of cattle, Clare, Kerry, Leitrim, Sligo and Donegal have most of their stock in the milch or under one year categories; whereas Galway, Mayo and Roscommon have the majority of their cattle in the older age groups. Kerry, Clare and Sligo have the largest number of central creameries in the West and with the addition of Leitrim, the greatest number of auxiliary creameries. Together, the eight counties provide 34 per cent of the total cattle in the State. The National Farm Survey figures showed that cattle produced more income for the subsistence farmer of the North and West Region than did either dairying, pigs, poultry, sheep, wool or crops. This reflects both the relatively high value of the store animal and the small outlay of the farmer on the alternatives.

The Congested Districts are above all sheep producers. They provide 51.5 per cent of the national sheep total, of which 20 per cent are located in Galway alone. The pattern of sheep raising is the same everywhere except that Counties Kerry, Donegal and Leitrim have more ewes than sheep under one year. The difference is not great and is probably explained by the fact that the counties with lowland sheep have higher lambing percentages than the counties which specialize in mountain sheep.

Perhaps the greatest surprise in the livestock patterns of the Congested Districts is the apparent unpopularity of pig breeding. The eight counties produce but 19.8 per cent of the numbers of pigs in the State. Kerry alone of these counties produces a large number of pigs, namely 7.3 per cent of the national total. One should have thought

[10] i.e. Area of crops and pasture.

that pig production and, where the soil conditions are suitable, barley growing would have been the stand-bys of the small farm economy in this region. This does not appear to be so.

Ordinary fowl are of course by far the most common type of poultry reared in the area. However, the Congested Districts provide only 39.9 per cent of the national ordinary fowl total. This is in marked contrast to 54 per cent of the geese and 48.1 per cent of the ducks in the State. Since there are less than half a million geese and just over half a million ducks in the country these high percentages mean but little. Turkeys are of more importance than either ducks or geese and are the second most popular fowl in Kerry, Galway, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon and Sligo. The Congested Districts provide 36.6 per cent of the turkey total. Ducks and geese are still relatively popular in Clare, Galway, Mayo, Sligo and Donegal, although there is much less demand for them—either in shell or feather—than for ordinary fowl and turkeys.

VIII

From the foregoing, it is clear that the main emphasis in livestock production is towards animals requiring little attention—sheep and dry cattle. One may wonder why this is the case; why the small farm is going in for extensive rather than intensive cultivation and why it has not produced more pigs, poultry and dairying products, growing as large a percentage as possible of the feeding stuffs that go with them.

The explanation of this trend must be connected with the existence of a subsistence economy. The people in the Congested Districts have not yet felt the need for specialization on their farms which would provide them with cash when needed. Ready money can be found elsewhere; roadwork, fishing, forestry, turf cutting or the dole are alternatives near to hand. Cattle is the one commodity for which there is a large scale marketing mechanism in the Congested Districts and it provides the largest single source of farm income on the subsistence farm.

If there were no possibilities of earning or obtaining extra income from non-farm sources one of two things would happen. Accepting as a given factor the maintenance of the small farm as part of the Western scene, the land would have to be worked far more intensively and would probably produce a set of crops and livestock quite different from that produced to-day. The present trend is towards an even greater production of sheep and cattle; unless this can be related to a policy of improved grassland it will lead, under existing agricultural conditions, to the gradual disappearance of the small farm. Official

policy is concerned with the maintenance of as many people as possible on the land; yet at the same time cattle and sheep production on an extensive scale is increasing. The contradictions inherent in this situation may well prove disastrous unless the systems of production are radically altered. The proposed establishment of new creameries will put the smaller farmer in the West on a more secure economic foundation.

IX

If the subsistence economy of the West is allowed to remain unchanged, the net result must inevitably be greater depopulation—particularly of young adults—and further amalgamation of holdings. Even with this, the dependence on non-agricultural income will rise and the weakness of the Western agricultural economy will adversely affect the rest of the community.

The economy of the Congested Districts is changing with the growing desire for a cash income and for the products of an exchange economy. Unfortunately, the exchange economy is becoming a reality to many of the people, not in their own country but in Britain or elsewhere.

As was stated earlier, the proportion of labour to land and the other factors is too high in the Congested Districts. Some of this labour could be used more economically and more profitably elsewhere. There always have been local alternatives to agriculture but they have been seasonal or part-time. They have helped to bridge the gap between the subsistence and monetary economies, but it would be more satisfactory if a greater proportion of the agricultural population could find permanent industrial employment. Government policy has been directed to the retention of population in the West as far as possible, so it is as well to be aware of the sources of employment—both traditional and modern—already available in the Congested Districts.

Fishing has always played a part in the lives of those whose homes border the Atlantic. This was especially true in Donegal and Kerry. One of the most extensive of the operations undertaken by the Congested Districts Board was the development of the fishing industry. Their efforts were most successful for many years, particularly in Donegal, but failed eventually when the railway companies increased their freight rates to such a level as to make the transportation of fresh fish uneconomic.[11]

[11] 'the almost complete cessation of earnings was at first due to the increase of transport through rates by 120 per cent, on such low priced fish as mackerel' W. C. Micks: *An Account of the Constitution, Administration and Dissolution of the C.D.B. for Ireland from 1891 to 1923.* P. 57. Dublin. 1925.

A distinction must be made between the part-time and full-time fisherman. The former are usually small holders who fish in their spare time or at slack periods on the farm. These have been on the decrease. In 1955, there were 4,185 part-time fishermen in Counties Kerry, Clare, Galway, Mayo, Sligo and Donegal. By 1959, the figure had fallen to 3,274.

On the other hand, the numbers engaged in fishing as a full-time occupation have increased from 639 in 1955 to 795 in 1959. This is not a large increase and one cannot hold out the fishing industry as a likely source of livelihood for many.

Fish processing plants are another source of employment, but only for a few. These plants freeze, smoke and salt fish and manufacture ice. Employment is highly seasonal and the numbers engaged may range from a minimum of three or four to a maximum of seventy. Unless the fishing industry were to expand considerably, both at sea and in the processing plants, it cannot provide an outlet for surplus agricultural labour.

Forestry is becoming increasingly important in the State as a whole, and the Congested Districts are sharing in this progress. There are State plantations in each of the eight counties and in 1960/61, they employed an annual average of 1,593, and the number is continually rising. Not all the employment is permanent but the seasonal variation is slight. This is an expanding industry and greater planting and thinning means greater opportunities for employment directly and also in ancillary industries.

Though the West of Ireland is well endowed with turf bogs very few are being developed at present by Bórd na Móna which does not operate at all in Counties Clare, Leitrim and Sligo. The employment given is mainly seasonal and unskilled; Crossmolina bog provides the greatest outlet, employing from 200-300 men.

Seasonal migration has always been a factor in the lives of the Western people. It was very common in the days of the Congested Districts Board, when men used to go to eastern Ireland and to Britain for harvesting, paying the rent out of the money earned. There is little data available on the subject, but it would appear that there has been a definite decline in the numbers seeking migratory employment. Certainly, this has been the case with sugar beet singling and harvesting. It is easier and more satisfactory to find permanent employment elsewhere.

The employment opportunities afforded by the industries already discussed above are limited in a number of respects. All offer temporary, seasonal or unskilled work for the most part; there are few, if any, prospects for self-advancement and the maximum wage is reached

both early and young. Nevertheless they are more remunerative than farm work, for which the statutory wage was 105s. per week in the West in 1960. However, one feels that it is from manufacturing industry that the greatest hope of extra employment must come if the surplus labour of relatives assisting is to be utilized in the Western Counties.

In 1952, the special problems presented by the Western counties were recognized by the Undeveloped Areas Act. This Act provides special inducements to manufacturers willing to establish enterprises or to extend existing ones within the Undeveloped Areas, that is, the Congested Districts. So far, approximately sixty concerns have received grants and other assistance—with varying results. An important feature of this new industrialization is that it is helping to create increased opportunities for obtaining diversified skills locally, as many of the new industries are based on non-indigenous raw materials. This affords the opportunity of learning skills which otherwise could be obtained only by migration or emigration.

In 1957,[12] the transportable goods industries in the Congested Districts employed 12,107 persons. Building, construction and service industries provided employment for another 8,895. These 21,000 jobs are quite inadequate to deal with the problem when one takes into account that in 1951 there were 86,751 relatives assisting and 15,968 farm labourers in the West. It is to be hoped that the number of industries will continue to rise and help to absorb more of those who will not inherit land or who do not wish to make their life in agriculture.

It is obvious that there are not sufficient alternatives to work on the land in the Congested Districts. Agriculture cannot provide for everyone and industry must come to its assistance and help to relieve the pressure of population on the basic resources available. A greater number of manufacturing industries signifies more than the immediate employment created, for it means increased amenities and growth in the service industries as well. It may also help the farmer by presenting him with a better local market for perishable and bulky products. In order that assistance be really effective, however, agriculture must meet industry half way. Industrialization means the final overthrow of the subsistence elements in the economy, and this would bring radical changes in the pattern of livestock and crop cultivation. If the present trend in the economy of the West continues unaltered, the outcome will be that the Congested Districts will continue to decline both relatively and absolutely.

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[12]The most recent year for which the county figures in the Census of Industrial Production are available.

X

The problems of the Congested Districts are to be found on more than one level. There is high population density, especially on the poorest land. The number of dependants, both old and young, is higher than elsewhere in the country and the burden of these on the active age groups is intensified because of the number of young adults who emigrate. This burden is both a direct one in terms of the financial and social responsibilities of the individual producer, and an indirect one in terms of the cost on the local taxes for the social services which are not provided from central funds.

The land is a problem in itself, a very high proportion of it being classed as 'other land' most of which is but rock, lakes, marshes and bogs. The remainder of the area includes a great variation of soils, the larger proportion of which falls into extremely poor categories. These latter soils are not only in a poor physical condition and of low fertility but in many cases their range of uses is strictly limited by inaccessibility, steep gradients, elevation, drainage and stoniness. More than ordinary attention to cultivation, manuring and management is necessary in order to obtain good results. This involves a greater capital input and a higher level of technical knowledge and skills on the part of these farmers. The need for a well co-ordinated research programme to assist them is very great.

The variability of soils in the Congested Districts is responsible for the many different problems of individual soil areas. For instance the reclamation and utilization of bogland along the Western seaboard for agriculture, horticulture and forestry demand techniques, procedures and research of a kind not associated with ordinary arable land. The large areas of hill-land grazing have unique soil problems. This hill-land is at present far below its potential productivity and stocking capacity could be greatly increased by better attention to manurial and management requirements. Apart from low levels of major plant nutrients the lack of adequate amounts of trace elements such as cobalt adversely affects animal health. This last factor alone in terms of the livestock economy of some areas of the region is all important as cobalt deficiency is especially detrimental to sheep which are such an important factor in the Western economy.

For a co-ordinated approach to the solution of these soil problems the most logical procedure is first to segregate the different soils by soil survey and classification. Unfortunately this survey is only just beginning in these areas. Land suitability and use capability surveys are needed as a basis for planning the best use of the soil resources available in terms of its inherent capacity and within the framework of an expanding economy.

Population pressure is highest on the small farm and there are few industrial outlets for the excess labour within the Congested Districts. The percentage of the national output of crops and livestock produced in the West is by no means as large as it might be. In an area representing 33.5 per cent of the total agricultural area of the State, 18 per cent of the corn and 30 per cent of the root and green crops are grown, the bulk of the output being oats and potatoes. The West produces 34 per cent of the cattle, 20 per cent of the pigs and 52 per cent of the sheep, the last mentioned being its outstanding contribution to the individual enterprises of the national agricultural economy. It also produces less than 40 per cent of the ordinary fowl and turkeys. The alternative seasonal and part-time sources of income have not always proved to be entirely beneficial in the farm economy as they have assisted in reducing the opportunities and incentives for growing cash crops on the small farm.

If the West is not to fall even further behind the rest of the country, the productivity of its agriculture must be raised and a greater proportion of its produce must enter the market economy. Increased productivity may mean fewer on the land but even as it is, if family labour were paid an economic wage and if the farmer were to remunerate his own labour, both as manager and entrepreneur, the concealed underemployment would be more obvious and the present inadequacy of the land to provide an income for all those living there would be clearly seen.

The question arises as to how the Congested Districts can be helped to come into line with the rest of the country. Schemes of assistance to agriculture are universal throughout the country. Besides the general schemes, the Congested Districts and the Gaeltacht have schemes exclusively their own. Many of these—such as the allocation of special bulls, rams and boars for breeding purposes—date from the early days of the Congested Districts Board. It would be desirable to ascertain what effect these special schemes have had on the West and the extent to which they meet the requirements for the development of a viable farming economy.

The Department of Agriculture spends about 1.5 per cent of its annual expenditure on these special projects but perhaps more might be accomplished if there were greater concentration of effort on fewer schemes. The promotion of schemes of lasting value which are well planned and which place the emphasis on self-help and mutual help is of the utmost importance. By concentration on a few schemes, the Western Economy could be guided in a given direction: either to retain the small holding and to concentrate on the products best suited to it, or to move away from the small holding and to intensify a grassland economy. Planning along these lines would not be an easy

undertaking, but if it were attempted it could lead to a more prosperous West and would avoid the present pitfall of moving in opposite directions at the same time.

Besides schemes directly concerned with the existing agricultural pattern, it might be possible to help the Congested Districts in another way. Very little is known about the basic requirements for an effective marketing system in the West nor about the actual facilities at present in operation. Over half the fairs held in the Republic take place in the Congested Districts, but no information is available as to the number of livestock sold at them. The Marts are better documented but as yet there are not very many of them in the West. There is no information on intra and inter county movements of crops. This is true all over the country but it is more serious in the West where there is a shortage of cash crops and the means to market them. It is quite possible that, if production and marketing were better organized, many small holders could produce horticultural crops which would be more profitable than their present output.

Concern for the Congested Districts is not new. The Congested Districts Board gave many years of devoted labour in helping these areas and their efforts were successful in raising the very low standard of living which existed at the time. Despite their efforts and those of every government since the foundation of the State, the West is still a problem. The assistance given has not achieved the measure of rehabilitation that is essential if the Western farm economy is to prosper. It is unfortunate that the voluntary organizations catering for the farming community are relatively weak in the West where they are most needed. Progress in the country as a whole will be slowed down if the West remains unable to contribute its fair share of the wealth. It is essential that the Congested Districts enter fully into the exchange economy of the rest of the country, otherwise their position will become worse and their problems increasingly difficult to solve.

The non-existence of definite and reliable information on the West is a great handicap in the planning of assistance for the region. The lack of information on marketing has been mentioned but there are many other gaps in our knowledge of the people and the land. Nothing more than the barest statistics is available regarding cropping patterns; the effect of industry on the surrounding countryside is unknown. Much has to be learned before any useful plans can be made for the West. It is vital that this should be done for otherwise the subsistence elements will remain and the West will drift further and further from the main trend of Irish agricultural development. The problems are sectional or regional but, if the Congested Districts were to be integrated fully with the rest of the economy, the benefit derived would be felt by all.

TABLE I

CROPS 1960

CORN, ROOT AND GREEN CROPS

COUNTY	Oats	Barley	Wheat	Total Corn Crops (a)	Total Corn as % of Crops and pasture	Total Corn as % of Co. area	Total Corn as % of Nat. Corn acreage	Potatoes	Turnips	Mangels and Fodder Beet	Total Root and Green Crops (*b*)	Total as % of crops and pasture	Total as % of Co. area	Total as % of Nat. Root and and Green
	acres 000	acres 000	acres 000	acres 000				acres 000	acres 000	acres 000	acres 000			
Clare ..	6·8	2·3	1·4	10·7	2·1	1·4	0·9	8·4	2·3	2·4	14·5	2·8	1·8	2·8
Kerry ..	17·2	7·2	4·1	28·6	5·6	2·5	2·5	10·6	4·2	4·4	21·6	4·3	1·9	4·1
Galway (a)	35·2	9·2	8·6	53·3	7·0	3·6	4·7	21·8	5·2	4·5	40·6	5·4	2·8	7·8
Leitrim ..	4·5	0·3	*	4·9	1·9	1·3	0·4	4·4	0·2	0·1	4·7	1·8	1·2	0·9
Mayo ..	24·7	4·5	1·1	30·7	5·5	2·3	2·7	18·7	1·6	1·5	23·4	4·2	1·8	4·5
Roscommon	12·0	3·1	1·8	17·1	3·7	2·8	1·5	8·7	0·9	0·9	11·8	2·5	1·9	2·3
Sligo ..	7·8	0·8	0·5	9·3	3·2	2·1	0·8	6·4	0·5	0·2	7·6	2·6	1·7	1·5
Donegal ..	49·5	1·6	3·9	55·4	14·0	4·6	4·9	26·2	4·5	0·2	31·8	8·0	2·7	6·1

* Less than 50 acres.

(*a*) Includes rye, beans and peas.

(*b*) Includes sugar beet, kale, cabbage and other root and green crops.

(*c*) Sugar beet is the second largest root crop in Galway, providing 6,800 acres of the total.

Source : Irish Trade Journal, March, 1961.

TABLE II

LIVESTOCK 1960

CATTLE AND SHEEP

County	Milch Cows	Under 1 year	1 year and under two	2 years and under three	3 years and over	Heifers in calf	Total Cattle (*a*)	Total as % of Nat. Total	Sheep Under 1 year	Ewes	Sheep one year and over	Rams	Total Sheep	Total as % of Nat. Total
	000	000	000	000	000	000	000		000	000	000	000	000	
Clare ..	66·7	64·5	62·1	39·7	11·0	4·5	249·7	5·3	38·2	36·3	17·9	1·3	93·6	2·2
Kerry ..	112·9	79·4	45·1	24·9	6·4	6·5	277·2	5·8	67·5	99·0	56·9	3·0	226·4	5·2
Galway ..	58·9	68·5	73·3	49·0	14·2	6·2	270·8	5·7	351·6	329·4	169·6	10·3	860·9	20·0
Leitrim ..	29·3	24·6	21·6	14·3	3·2	2·4	95·5	2·0	15·8	22·1	2·0	0·7	41·5	1·0
Mayo ..	62·3	60·8	62·9	43·7	11·9	5·1	247·0	5·2	143·3	142·8	67·2	4·3	357·7	8·3
Roscommon	34·0	41·3	53·5	41·8	8·5	3·8	183·1	3·9	104·1	99·7	29·0	3·2	236·1	5·5
Sligo ..	30·9	29·9	31·4	23·6	5·0	1·9	122·9	2·6	43·4	40·9	5·5	1·1	90·9	2·1
Donegal ..	46·6	39·2	37·7	27·6	8·7	4·1	164·4	3·5	116·2	151·6	37·5	4·5	309·8	7·2

(*a*) Includes bulls.

Source : Irish Trade Journal, March, 1961.

TABLE II (*Continued*).

LIVESTOCK 1960

PIGS AND POULTRY

COUNTY	Pigs Under 3 Months	Over 3 Months	Sows (*b*)	Livestock Boars	Total Pigs	Total as % of National Total	Ordinary Fowl	Turkeys	Ducks	Geese	County Poultry as % of National Total			
											Ordinary Fowl	Turkeys	Ducks	Geese
	000	000	000	000	000		000	000	000	000				
Clare ..	7·6	7·0	1·0	*	15·7	1·7	312·4	27·2	20·3	56·9	2·8	2·8	4·4	13·0
Kerry ..	31·6	30·9	6·8	0·1	69·4	7·3	502·0	83·7	26·9	19·1	4·5	8·6	5·9	4·4
Galway ..	16·2	12·5	2·4	0·1	31·2	3·3	1,086·2	73·3	62·8	59·3	9·7	7·5	13·7	13·5
Leitrim ..	5·5	3·8	1·5	*	10·8	1·1	281·8	25·6	5·3	5·6	2·5	2·6	1·2	1·3
Mayo ..	15·9	8·5	2·2	*	26·6	2·8	864·4	54·8	46·8	36·7	7·8	5·6	10·2	8·4
Roscommon	5·2	3·2	0·6	*	9·1	1·0	490·2	51·0	16·4	24·4	4·4	5·2	3·6	5·6
Sligo ..	5·7	4·6	1·1	*	11·5	1·2	319·7	26·6	14·0	16·7	2·9	2·7	3·1	3·8
Donegal ..	7·6	4·2	1·6	*	13·4	1·4	589·3	15·6	27·3	17·7	5·3	1·6	6·0	4·0

(*a*) Includes gilts in pig.

* Less than 50.

Source : Irish Trade Journal, March, 1961.

Songs the Sirens Sing

DENIS DONOGHUE

THE nature of Irish education has been discussed widely, if spasmodically, during the past few years, and the discussion is likely to continue. The present essay is merely a footnote to the discussion, not part of the official text. It is written in the idiom of disappointment, which is not always a reliable idiom and sometimes turns out to be the lament of a disconsolate chimera. If the ghosts can be shown to be my own invention, my embarrassment will be assuaged with relief and I shall whistle a merrier tune.

Even in a footnote on Irish education we should mention one fact and one assumption: the fact, that in Ireland as in many other Western countries universal literacy has now been achieved; the assumption, that in this country we have been particularly successful in giving our children a 'sense of values', a high Christian tone. Of this assumption I shall have nothing to say, but it will form part of the silent context in which we attend to the siren-songs. The unchallenged fact will elicit only a few remarks, including this mild admonition, that the problems raised in other countries by the universal imposition of education can hardly be expected to absent themselves from Ireland. Perhaps we are well aware of these problems. Mr. Toynbee discussed them in the idiom of civilized exasperation in the fourth Volume of *A Study of History,* and perhaps like the estridge of *Euphues* we have digested that hard iron to preserve our health. Mr Blackmur has discussed the same problems in *The Lion and the Honeycomb,* a book of criticism in the idiom of solicitude, a book of pain and prophecy. Mr Blackmur's apocalyptic idiom is as dangerous as any, not to be imitated but again not to be ignored. He speaks of mass education and practically identifies its effects with 'the new illiteracy'.

> The old illiteracy was inability to read; as the old literacy involved the habit of reading. The new illiteracy represents those who have been given the tool of reading (something less than the old primary-school education) without being given the means or skill to read well or the material that ought to be read.

This is the problem; and before deciding that it does not touch us we should consider relevant evidence. If Irish education has been successful, we should be able to see its fruits in the texture of our lives, in our values, our speech, our clothes, our games, our social

activities. Such evidence is difficult to assess; one is limited to impressions. A slightly more tangible field of research is the material we choose to read. Here again the tracks are littered with false clues, exceptions, circumstantial evidence which would fail in any court of law; but a modest report may be possible.

It is my impression that the majority of our people read only the daily newspapers, an occasional novel borrowed from a public library or bought in a paperback edition, the Irish and English Sunday newspapers, and the popular women's magazines. Our daily newspapers are for the most part innocuous; they are worse than their English counterparts only insofar as they pretend to be better. A study of the fiction shelves in Dublin public libraries suggests that literacy has opened up for our people a new world of daydreams; but again this is only an impression. The paperback novels vary greatly; masterpieces and ephemera keep company on the same shelves; crime stories, westerns, adventure stories, for the most part innocent enough. And the circulation of these is statistically modest. But this does not apply to the popular magazines. Week by week in this country 40,000 people buy a copy of *Woman;* about 39,000 buy *Woman's Own*. The fifth most popular woman's magazine, *Woman's Mirror,* has a circulation of 15,000. Here, if anywhere, we should be able to gather a little of the relevant evidence as to the material we elect to read.

One afternoon, some months ago, I bought a number of magazines in a respectable Dublin magazine-store. The following is a brief anthology drawn from those pages.

ADVERTISEMENTS

In *Movie Stars*: 'Maurice of Hollywood presents *Passiones de Paree;* You in Sensational Parisian Creations. Pigalle Playmate . . . From the Casbah . . . to Paris . . . to you! Every yard of sensual, sheer, nylon . . . a romantic inviter. Glittering gold lame halter, dips down and down . . . then bare to there . . . to meet the gold of la femme full harem pants. Designed to reveal your every charm and enslave your enchanted sultan.' In *Movie Mirror* an advertisement for Safeguard Vitamin Tablets is a 'human interest' story by a Mrs Marjorie Bree, who reports that she had been deeply distressed by the listlessness and tiredness of her husband. 'Thank you for my new husband,' says Mrs Bree. In the same issue of *Movie Mirror* Maurice of Hollywood advertises his *La Epice*: 'In France and here . . . the word is spice . . . for the sensational shirt-waist . . . to button-up for business-behaviour . . . or button-down for "he-man" approval.' And in the same magazine, beside an advertisement for Pro-Forma

'to develop fuller, firmer bosoms,' the Inspiration Guild, Inc. offer rosary beads which contain 'water from the miraculous spring created by Holy Mary.' 'Imagine . . . holding in your hand, touching with your fingers, *seeing with your own eyes* . . . water from the miraculous Fountain at Lourdes, permanently sealed in transparent rosary beads!' In *TV Life* the Plaza Book Co. (New York) offers in plain wrapper a book called *From Freud to Kinsey*: 'Kiss and cry no more! Your SUCCESS depends on when, where, how, how much, with whom—and a lot more. It calls for the right line and the sure touch. And what you don't know *can* hurt you! Every detail picture clear . . . Exciting entertainment from cover to cover.' In *TV Movie Screen* the Book Bazaar (New York) offers a book called *The Art of Kissing*: 'Covers different kinds of kisses: the technique, the thrills, the varieties: Vacuum, Eyelash, Nip, French, Surprise, Electric, etc; kissing games.' In *True Romances* Madame Tajana, 87, Wardour Street, London, advertises Solomon's Seal, 'the favourite Good Luck talisman of film stars, sportsmen, actresses,' together with *My Love Life Told By the Stars.*

ADVICE

Honey specifies '21 ways to get a date'; and 'here's how to meet him and keep him.' In *Boyfriend* the Talbot Twins print a letter which reads: 'I'm in love with a real crazy guy and though I know he loves me he's never yet said it. How can I make him be more affectionate?' The answer: 'Keep up the kissin' and the cuddlin' and hope for the best.' Allen Andrews edits an article in *Men Only* on *How to Win the Battle of the Sexes.* In *Ingenue* Bernard F. Riess, 'prominent psychologist', advises a girl not to tell her current boy-friend about her past sexual concessions. 'Everyone can—and does—make a mistake . . . The boys and men who fall in love with you will love the present and future you. There is no reason why you should feel compelled to tell them everything that went into the formation of the "you" they love.'

ANSWERS

True Magazine sponsors Harry Edwards, an adept of Spiritual Healing and/or Absent Healing. 'The Powers of absent healing have brought peace of mind to so many; remember, it is here for all of you who need its help.' In an earlier issue of the same magazine Mr Edwards replied to at least one correspondent with a certain winning modesty. M. McA. had asked: 'Can you save my sight? It is becoming misty and I get bad headaches . . .' Mr Edwards replied: 'We will help to ease your eyes all we can, but I do advise you to see your optician . . .'

ASTROLOGY

In *Woman's Illustrated* Maurice Woodruff informs those who have blue eyes and the guidance of Capricorn that the beginning of the week 'could be unsettled'. Paul Destina, in *True Magazine,* advises those born under Gemini, 'Don't give your heart too soon to someone new.' In *True Romances* Katrina informs her readers that 'genuine astrology and numerology have a powerful influence on your future.' In *Woman* Dorothy Adam speaks to single girls born under Leo: 'Your thoughts could be turning towards marriage now . . . try to be patient.'

CONTRACEPTION

In *Bliss* Dr Paul Vincent advised 'Valerie' not to trust birth control pills yet. 'I would suggest that you go to a family planning clinic where a lady doctor will be able to fit you up with a "diaphragm".' In *True Magazine* 'our doctor' advised 'Betty' to consult the Family Planning Association before her marriage. 'Well, that's another worry out of the way,' Betty said thankfully.

FICTION

In *Honey*: '. . . Years of unconscious yearnings, depths of a dependence and love which she had forgotten, were in her voice when she said to him, "Let's not misunderstand each other any more." And something else, too, something that had overwhelmed her and caught her as it had caught him, which she could not describe but which seemed to be the climax for which she had always been waiting.

'Later on, he said, "I'm locking the door." And she smiled and told him to hurry back. "I'm so happy," she told him then, rousing herself to watch him.

' "How happy?" he said, looking at the light and shade on her body, catching at her moan of pleasure as an offering to himself.

' "Happy the way I've always wanted to be," she told him, and added playfully, "You shouldn't play with my nightdress."

'And he, bearing down suddenly, secure in his sudden sophistication, said, "That's my *raison d'etre,* my dear. That's my *raison d'etre*".' This is part of a serial, *The Bait,* by Mary Lomar. Josh is 'an attractive American student.' Hilary is 'a shy young English girl on holiday in Italy.' Next month: 'Hilary learns the truth.'

GOSSIP

A typical item is 'The Mystery Girl called La Belle Anoushka,' by Geoffrey Bocca, in *Honey.* 'Will she or won't she marry the handsome young Aga Khan?' Toward the end of his essay Mr Bocca remarks, 'There are obstacles in the way of marriage, of course, not the least

being their different religions. But it is felt that Anoushka, although a Catholic, would certainly adopt the Moslem faith if the matter cropped up.'

PROMISE

In *Bliss*: 'Next week. The Skin He Loves to Touch.' In *Movie Stars*: 'Next month. Liz Taylor: How Wicked Can a Woman Be?' In *Movie Mirror*: 'Why Liz Won't Let Eddie KISS her!' In *Men Only*: 'May Preview. Les Nymphettes . . . Half child, half woman . . . the teenage girls of Paris.' In the same magazine: 'Too Tired to Love. A psychiatrist examines this most unhappy of all marital problems.'

PSYCHOLOGY

In *Screen Stars* Dorothy White has an article, 'What Nancy didn't know on her wedding night,' purporting to deal with the marriage of Miss Nancy Sinatra. 'Then her wedding day came. She was actually there, being married. Nancy was scared, really scared. This was not how she had always dreamed it would be. It was the Sands Hotel in Las Vegas instead of the Church she knew and loved so well.

'This was the first of her sacrifices for the man she loved. Tommy was not a Catholic; he came from a Jewish-Christian marriage. It was a marriage that had eventually broken up. Could it have been the difference in religion that had contributed to its break-up? Nancy's religion had been important in her life. It had given her the warmth and security she hadn't always gotten at home. She wanted to preserve it and pass it on to her children. And here she was being married outside of the Church. Would it hurt the marriage? Would she resent Tommy for not wanting to be married by a Catholic priest? . . . Suddenly Nancy knew that love was the only answer. As long as they loved each other everything would be all right. And that was one thing she was sure of—they would always love each other.'

In *Honey* Gladys Denny Shultz tells 'Jane', 'You must remember that a normal male is a natural aggressor, with sex drives stronger than any sexually unawakened and inexperienced girl can very well understand. Nature made him that way on purpose.' In *Ingenue* Bernard F. Reiss, Ph.D., Director of Research at the Postgraduate Center for Psychotherapy in New York City, says, 'Teenage sex is a search for contact . . . contact with another person who will understand and share the teenage world. The drive is essentially for an *emotional* contact, rather than for the satisfaction of a purely biological need. The teenager wants to *communicate* . . . to share her particular adolescent logic and feelings with someone whose logic and feelings are similar . . .' In *Family Star* Stephen Norris solves your dreams. Mrs E. B. writes to him: 'I dreamed I hit my

grandmother and pegged her by the shoulders to the clothesline. Then I became afraid and ran into the house. Every time I opened the door I could see her swinging in the breeze. She kept crying: "You naughty girl, unpeg me!" until I had the courage to come out and face her.' Mr Norris explains: 'Your dream shows you have a grudge against your grandmother. At the same time you feel the meanness of your sentiments. That is why you try to escape by running into the house.' In *Men Only* girls are photographed in several postures on a bed, the notion being that 'even if a girl conceals her true character while conscious, her postures when asleep will reveal it, claims a psychiatrist.'

QUESTIONS

Screen Album: 'Why did Debbie keep a memento of her wedding to Eddie in her bedroom as a constant reminder?' *TV and Movie Screen*: 'Would a "Good" Wife DO what Liz DOES?' *Ingenue*: 'What are the Boys saying about Sex?' *Today*: 'What will Bartok tell her baby?'

STYLE

From *Movie Stars*: 'It was just one of those things for Gene Tierney and Aly Khan, but it cost Gene years of tremendous anguish. She met Aly after an ill-fated marriage to Oleg Cassini. With Aly she tasted romantic ecstasy for a few short months. But Aly's love died and when it did, a little bit of Gene died too.' This comes from a piece called 'Tragic Love: Weak Hearts get Trampled upon . . .' *Screen Album*: 'But Debbie's heart was never really on the town. She had two babies, and she loved them, and in the back of her mind there must have been always the sense of desolation because her kids were being cheated. Kids should have a mommy and a daddy and a heart, and know what a family is like.' This essay is anonymous. In the same magazine there is a piece called 'Two's Company and Baby makes Three': 'Nowadays Jimmy has that proud-as-punch look on his face, and he has more than one reason for it. He's been acclaimed for performances in *Let No Man Write My Epitaph* and *Guns of Navarone,* he and Evy together licked that blindness threat with their mutual courage and faith, and their year of marriage has brought them the delicious assurance that they are chemically right for each other.' *Woman* includes part of Mary Howard's 'Surgeon's Dilemma,' an emotional quadrilateral involving an almoner's secretary, a young doctor, an Austrian surgeon and his wife. 'His face was sombre. "Endurance, that I understand. But not to express something you feel: not to embrace when you love, to

talk of your real self to a friend, not to cry when you are sad . . . that seems to me quite wrong."

'There was an appeal in his voice that was unmistakable.'

The chapter ends:

'She put her hand compassionately on his shoulder, as she'd often done in the hospital to comfort some anxious person, and suddenly his arms were round her, his lips on hers.

'It was like some great river rushing over a weir. She was swept away and lost in an ecstasy of sensation, dark and wonderful. She was aware of nothing except his demand, and her own response, fierce, passionate, and protective too.

'The world and time stood still, and then suddenly he let her go, with a long, shuddering, broken sigh.

'He said: "What have I done? Bridget, Bridget, child . . . please forgive me!"

'The world and time began to move again—the clouds blowing, the children with their kites and ball games, the walkers in the evening sunshine, a little blurred, but real. A real world, where there was no rapture, and she was in love with a married man.

'She said blindly, "Don't, Franz . . . please . . . don't blame yourself. It was my fault . . . I didn't realize . . . I didn't realize what was happening to me. I didn't know that people could . . . could fall in love . . . like this".'

Is this unfair? Yes, because all anthologies are misleading, and because even the most contemptible magazine included in my Golden Treasury contains harmless or even useful material (household hints, fashion photographs, knitting patterns, informative advertisements). But I must record a strange impression. The items given in the anthology somehow seemed 'all of a piece' with the settings in which they appeared: they did not strike me as shocking intrusions into contexts which they disfigured; they were 'at home'. And this is surely to be expected: a competently edited magazine will tend to be diverse, but it will disclose or invent a 'world' somehow its own, it will somehow enforce its own 'character'.

The more expensive magazines present a different problem. Their circulation in Ireland is of course relatively small, and their effects are therefore less rampant. But with the increasing standard of living in this country we may anticipate that more and more readers will reach out for the 'glossies' as status-symbols: *Vogue,* casually placed upon the coffee-table, has already become a modish badge of well-being in suburban Dublin. A course of reading in these magazines —notably in *Esquire, Life, Look, Housewife, Woman's Journal, About*

Town, Ladies' Home Journal, Vogue and *Harper's Bazaar*—may well occasion a little anxiety.

The basic assumption in these magazines is that their readers have solved their mating problems. Advice on social strategy aand sexual processes is deemed redundant: 'Valerie' does not need to be enlightened. Marriage, in *Woman* the climax of a long series of well-chosen moves, is merely a point of reference: one arrived there some time ago and perhaps one has visited a few other places meanwhile. The inexpensive magazines are obsessed with 'the social factor' and the road to marriage; they cannot think about anything else until the Great Day. The more expensive magazines, with varying degrees of seriousness, hover around different problems: money, status, one's public image, travel, the horror of the ordinary, the subtlety of cars, children as advertisements, and divorce.

Divorce is taken for granted; unfortunate, of course, and expensive, but not a major problem. The official attitude in these magazines is fairly represented by the following passage of rumination from a story by Joan Aiken called 'The Robber Kitten'. When this story was published in *Housewife* the preceding page was occupied by a photograph of Mr and Mrs Billy Wright and their child enjoying a joke while a Rolls Super 66 Combined Washing Machine and Spin Drier proceeded with its business in a corner of the kitchen:

> Sonia had been my husband John's first wife. She was an actress and fabulously attractive, with that wide-eyed fur-lined type of good looks. John had divorced her after she had flitted off from him to annex somebody else's husband, a rising television producer. Her second marriage only lasted a couple of years; she had abandoned the TV chap, who turned out to be not up-and-coming but down-and-going, in favour of a French ship-owner. Sonia, in fact, liked to lap where the cream was the thickest.
>
> I had met her only once, at a cocktail party, while she and John were still together, and before Richard, my first husband, was killed in a plane crash. Unfortunately she still had friends in our neighbourhood, and I had a vague foreboding that one day she would come back to take another survey of her ex-property. Especially now John was making his name as a playwright.

The second assumption in these expensive magazines is the possession of money. Occasionally one of them will entertain the notion that the precise management of money can be a problem, but they all abide by the club-rule that poverty is unmentionable. The possession of a modest income is vulgar; only wealth is beautiful. The current heroine in *Vogue* is a 'Mrs Exeter'; a lady who seems to spend her entire day in devotion to her body:

> Waiting for her breakfast tray of black coffee, dry toast, half a grapefruit and her special apricot diet jam, Mrs Exeter reached for what she always referred to as her little blue book—which in fact was peony-pink this year and opened out to the size of a desk blotter, almost hiding her small pretty desk. Today's notations went like this: "10.00, Fitting. 11.00, Facial. 1.15, Lunch, Caroline and Alice. 2.30, Hair. 4.30, Exercise Class . . . Pick up flowers, candles, remind Annie uncork wine at 5.30. Check seating. Write cards."

Mrs Exeter's problem, in the May issue of *Vogue,* was that she was 'still waiting for the big Inspiration before deciding on where to holiday this summer.'

For people in this predicament life is full of beauty and self-love; it can be expected to be gay, charming, delightful, enchanting, etc., etc., but in its greatest moments it is 'amusing'. There can be no higher praise. Vogue *advises* you to go to the Lebanon for your vacation and to make Beirut your 'base of operations':

> The Commodore, Bristol, Palm Beach, and Excelsior are all good newly-modern hotels, but the famous Hotel Saint-Georges is perhaps the most amusing place to stay. Rather *vieux jeu moderne,* it floats on the water's edge like a . . .

Housewife in May gave its readers 'a self-analysis do-it-yourself kit':

> We invite you to put your feet up and answer our questions honestly and thoughtfully. When you read your answers through afterwards, the picture may astound you. You'll be different, quite possibly, from the 'you' you thought you were; but don't worry, dissecting yourself and how you live will amuse you.

Because you are well-off, your life is beautiful; yours is, with the help of the particular magazine, the 'art' of living. So there will not be a vast 'distance' between you and the great. The expensive magazines are not quite as wide-eyed as the cheaper ones in their attitudes towards the great and famous; they tend to assimilate their heroes and heroines to 'you' by consoling reflection that these people are *really* simple folk, after all. If *Look* informs its readers that 'the Princess's evening dress is white satin with a blue velvet stole, designed by Balenciaga,' it hastens to add, in the next sentence, that 'Princess Caroline, cuddling a toy leopard, calls her mother "Mummy".' In *Housewife* Lady Cynthia Colville chats about the British Princess Royal:

> The Princess Royal's modesty derives from a clear view of life as it really is—neither over-valuing money, position or success, nor failing to appreciate the good use to which all gifts of character, intelligence and circumstance can be dedicated. It is part of that sturdy commonsense that has endeared her to large sections of the community.

In *Woman's Journal* Miss Poppy Richard writes about the Duchess of Devonshire:

> Against the splendour that is Chatsworth, the Duchess of Devonshire and her family live a simple homely life—enjoying country pleasures, and the responsibilities of a great family . . . Simplicity being the keynote of the Duchess's character, it isn't surprising that she doesn't care for entertaining on a grand scale.

In *Housewife* Ginette Spanier had an interesting paragraph:

> Lilli Palmer is in Paris making a film with the beautiful Louis Jourdan. Have you ever noticed her eyes? Light hazel colour with sequins shining in the pupils—marvellously attractive. I know nobody simpler or cosier than Lilli, in spite of the fact that she is probably one of the film actresses making the most money at the moment.

There only remains Culture. Most of the expensive magazines assume that Culture is a nice thing to have. The Duchess of Devonshire 'has a serious, artistic side' which prompts her to enjoy the company of Lord David Cecil, John Betjeman, Cecil Beaton, and Lucien Freud. Mr Betjeman is Princess Margaret's favourite poet. And then there is the Earl of Harewood. So it is quite safe. *About Town* published a story by Malcolm Bradbury which included references to Dryden, George Eliot, Swinburne, and Dr Leavis. Admittedly it was a funny story.

The fiction in the expensive magazines is very interesting, psychologically. Here is a sample, the opening of a story called 'Thamn':

> The parade had started. With an impersonator stepping out from behind maples in Main Street and letting go with a few impersonations. His name was George and he could do some fine bird calls. The birds responding and landing all over his shoulders. In summer he popped ripe cherries down their throats.
>
> The townsfolk looked upon George as a joke. And made some sly remarks about the State Asylum. If the facts were faced, certainly George was not all there. The girls especially treated George as a joke and laughed at a good distance. George was a fixture in town.
>
> Until that day. Of the parade. When most of the townsfolk were called upon to do their little bit on the stage.

This is the work of J. P. Donleavy, author of *The Ginger Man* and *Fairy Tales of New York*. I have not studied Mr Donleavy's work very seriously. I have read some of it, and it has struck me as the work of a competent, third-rate writer. But as far as I know he has published nothing as bad as 'Thamn'. This is interesting. The style of the passage I have quoted is arch, coy, pretentious, self-engrossed, and therefore corrupt: writing for *Vogue*, Mr Dunleavy produces a trivial piece of whimsy which sounds as if it were written by a pupil of Ernest Hemingway who wanted to sneer at John

Cheever. The 'style' draws off any significance which the story might have had; nothing is left but the 'manner' of the narrator. I can only assume that Mr Donleavy knew what he was doing, writing for *Vogue,* and that the ethos of such magazines cannot tolerate a suggestion that significance might reside apart from the sophisticated Self; that Value might reside in acts, sufferances, people, situations, rather than in the self-engrossment of a modish author. The narcissism common to Mr Donleavy and 'Mrs Exeter' is part of *Vogue's* chosen decor; the cult of a showy personality is in fact a denial of the Person.

I have prepared this essay on the assumption that the quality of a magazine which is bought by 40,000 and read by perhaps 120,000 people in this country every week of the year is a far more urgent topic than the precise theological position represented by Graham Greene's *The Heart of the Matter.* I should be very surprised if persistent recourse to such magazines did not disfigure the moral sensibility of any reader. (This is my opinion: I cannot prove the point. I have never seen the assumption seriously challenged, but on the other hand it would be very difficult to convince a reluctant or indifferent audience of its validity. There are many Catholics in Britain whose Sunday reading consists of *The Universe* and *The News of the World*: does one cancel the 'effect' of the other?; or are both papers morally null? The formation of character and its subsequent hazards are subject to many influences; the moral life is a serial, like Mrs Dale's Diary, always incomplete.)

My doubts in regard to Irish education are focussed upon questions of discrimination and values. I am not convinced that our education genuinely acknowledges the dignity of thought, intelligence, or choice. A good teacher will acknowledge these as the ground of his entire work. We have many fine teachers, whose work is thoughtful and purposive, but many of their colleagues seem to discourage thought and ignore purpose, to despise the mind, to resent choice. The good teachers encourage their pupils to choose, to discriminate, to prefer the good to the mediocre and (in an iron time) the mediocre to the bad. The good teachers respect Memory as a human faculty but consider it improperly employed in rote or formula. They prefer a live question to a dead answer, one live book to a monolithic library. They make of each lesson a human occasion, a dialogue; they elicit, they do not impose; they respect rival opinions and know that in many issues the sum of two and two is very difficult to establish. The good teachers try to define a relation between the professional skills they teach and the deeper choices and allegiances which are called Values. Such teachers can be found in many schools throughout the country, but we should not assume

that they constitute the norm of their profession or that they define its 'tone'.

A full study of Irish education would involve attention to many factors which are clearly beyond the scope of this essay. It should consider our environment, our position as an island-community, the national income, the selection of students for higher education, the training of teachers, laboratory and library facilities, textbooks, the quality of university education, school buildings, the system of examinations, the relation between the arts and sciences, the function of education in the formation of character. These are difficult and tendentious questions. The present footnote makes only one suggestion, that in discussing these matters we should dispose of self-congratulation as briefly as possible and thereafter speak in the idiom of concern.

Poems from the Catalan

PEARSE HUTCHINSON

JOSEPH CARNER was born in Barcelona in 1884. Much of his life has been spent abroad in the diplomatic service. He has taught at the Universities of Mexico and Brussels and is at present living in Brussels.

To go back a little: like other languages of less than paramount influence, Catalan, as a vehicle of poetry, had its time of glory to be followed by a long stretch of political subservience, and decadence. Fifty years ago, according to Carner, the language was growing to be despised by a parvenu class who 'needing a simple artifice within easy reach of all to give themselves tone in front of the servants', favoured, instead of Catalan, 'a grotesque version of Castilian.' Redemption from such dreary conditions had begun in the early years of the nineteenth century but that was mainly the work of Romantic patriots and regional revivalists. And the task of redeeming it from their clutches was most effectively carried out by Carner.

With the great priest-poet, Jacint Verdaguer, the language had once more become rich and eloquent; with Maragall, thoughtful and passionately honest; in Carner it became for the first time in centuries, professional, responsible, sophisticated, elegant, measured, ironic, European. In short, he got rid of Eisteddfodderry.

The effect of his writing was mirrored in the personal impact of the young Carner on the Catalan pundits at the turn of the century. Gaziel has recalled him as wearing 'very pale gloves and canary-coloured shoes' —in strong contrast to the reigning clique with their ritual beards and gold-rimmed spectacles dangling on black silk ribbons. Many of them still wrote—shades of Dunsany—with goose-quills. Carner sometimes wrote with his gloves on.

I used the word 'ironic'. That quality, perhaps even more than any other, marked him out, and makes him very difficult to translate. Carner's irony is sly, muted and the very reverse of sarcasm. Catalan, as Jean Wahl very rightly observes, has 'the hardness of steel, but also its glitter'. Another critic, Jean Cassou, correctly names 'fraîcheur et finesse' as the essential traits of Carner's work. Cassou, however, over-rapturously describes the Catalan miracle as 'un tel mariage de la fraîcheur et de la finesse, de la chanson qui s'exhale et de la ligne qui se détermine.'

Such miracles are hard to believe in translation. Supervielle, in the volume offered in homage to Carner on his seventy-fifth birthday, says of the poet: 'Je considère Carner comme un grand poète: quelques vers de lui me suffisent à le juger malgré mes diverses ignorances.'

One final note: the poem 'Belgium' (which begins 'I should like to grow old in a country where') was written before the First World War, before Carner had ever visited Belgium and long before he settled there. The country was then unnamed in his poem or might have been called Cockaygne, the Great Rock Candy Mountain. In the interval the poem has been greatly revised and now incorporates some recognizably realistic details. The version which I have translated is called 'Belgium' and is printed as the last poem in his last book (*Llunyania*. Santiago de Xile, 1952).

TO A FOUNTAIN, AT NIGHT

Whimpering fountain, why disturb
infinity's gentleness,
over what, in the end, may prove
only a small distress?

Are you regretting the time you'd heard
nothing of all the earth,
inside the crevice you then abandoned,
the blind place of your birth?

Are you frightened by the icy air
dishevelling your song? Do stars
reflected in your little lake
leave deep scars?

Who can tell how envious you are,
though strangers use contempt?
Like my life, you keep complaining,
anxious and discontent.
If only one could be a distant star,
a mountain-range, a tree
full of enchanted wings,
a never-conquered sea!

Fountain, my languishing sister,
can you tell me, can you recall
whether you weep because you exist, or
because you barely exist at all?

BELGIUM

I should like to grow old in a country
where the light filtered, smiling, yellow and grey;
where streams marked out the fields,
and trees of whitethorn, elm and pear;
to live quietly, never pointed out,
among a nation of good, united people,
heart side by side with heart, city by city;
and high-roads and lamp-light
advancing through the fields.
Sky and cloud, cruel or kind,
would captive rest in canals of trembling water,
placed cross-wise, fanning out, or parallel.

I should like to grow old in a city
where the soldiers are not too upstanding,
where everyone grows tender over an old painting,
or, when in flower, the cherry of Japan;
where neither child nor workman need be pitied;
where one could see right into houses full
of music and pipe-smoke and hospitality;
a place with flowers of burning colours,
for ever a magnificent surprise,
right through the coldest weather.
And quite often, at the very doors of a church,
a famous colourful market-place would sprout
the sea's booty, the earth's bounty,
and plenty of each for all.

A city for walking round, for searching out—
in melancholy's name, or seeking novelty,
chinking clear and sharp—
old houses in whose grounds the shadows nest,
and many newer ones, with small front gardens.
Wise men could there be found, of many kinds;
and a hundred eminent umbrellas
would make—in use, alas—official ranks
at the unveiling of monuments.
And certain long walks would suddenly end
in beech-woods, in park-ponds, in clearings
designed for love, delight, solitude, tears.

Empty of much, and wanting much,
I would live in others, a little in each.
But none
should fear that little, as they made their way.
One might, perhaps, frequent an ancient garden,
a sheltered place, yet bright with goldfish
and a clear fountain.
Of me
the children, with their bits of bread, might say:
'That's the man who comes here every day.'

IN THE WOOD

Now when the mist is rising
'I'm off,' the summer breathes;
though russet still has barely touched
the tips of the green beech leaves.

The knotted stump of a tree
gives privacy and peace;
I feel as secure as a rock,
from all anguish released.

Believing at last I'm free,
not fearing pain or deceit,
the tranquil dove comes down to drink,
and squirrels brush my feet.

As though from a distance, now
that colours and forms retreat,
the fountain sings the quiet song
of solitude complete.

A DAY FOR RUNNING

The clouds are racing across the sky. Everything follows suit:
a thaw sets in with a flurry, clothes on a line
look like melting away across the hedge,
and silver flecks appear in the grass.

In such an adventure of beginning
not a single thing is heavy or hindering;
the water in the river seems to say: Hurry up!
in its every glittering current.

Run, quick: never mind were you frightened or sad;
fear only this air may all of a sudden slow down.
For tomorrow there won't be these clouds or these mirrors of silver,
nor the laughing young girls under the whitethorn trees,
nor the sunshine to set them alight.

Salvador Espriu was born in Santa Coloma de Farners in 1913. He practises law in Barcelona. His first book, a short novel, appeared when he was seventeen and made an immediate impression both for skill and for what some would call 'brutality'. In his subsequent writing, both in his various prose works which are mainly satirical, and in the volumes of verse which, since 1946, have been his almost exclusive preoccupation, his skill has steadily increased and the brutality given place to austerity. He can blend the colloquial and the erudite, the worldly and the biblical tone more deftly than any poet I know excepting one or two in English.

Espriu has written of himself as 'not knowing what poetry is, unless it be a small help towards living rightly and, perhaps, towards a good death,' and as detesting, among other things, 'literary prizes, avarice, Christmas greetings, occasions for fêting the great, the wind, noise, disorder, going out at night, eating away from home, concerts, confidences, counsel, the obscene expansions of vanity. Leave me in peace and I am prepared at all times to believe, in good faith, that you and even you are the best writers in the world.'

More to the point, he has made a character in a play called 'Primera Historia d'Esther' recommend people to pay 'reciprocal alms of pardon and tolerance. Avoid the greatest crime, the sin of war between brothers. Remember that the mirror of truth broke, at its origin, into infinite small fragments and that each of those can still catch a gleam of authentic light.'

Generalizing, but not altogether wildly, Lorca once referred to 'the melancholy Muse of Catalonia'. Espriu has done more than anyone else to make that remark obsolete.

A CLOSED-IN HAPPINESSS IS PRETTY WELL MY WORLD

I live behind this door,
but whether it's life—I couldn't say.

Returning at dusk
from the daily process of hating bread
(or didn't you know? I've had terrific luck:
I sell myself piecemeal for a beautiful coin
that any day now may be worthless),
I leave in the hall that threadbare raincoat, hope,
and lock myself well in behind the eyes,
where I can grope around for that God of mine—
far beyond the false prophets,
the unusual faults,
and the old fool made ill by verses,
more or less disciplined, like these—
with a dab here and there of dark tints
the breath of critics, puffing and blowing,
will one day, to my shame, clear up.
So if you want me you can find me here
behind the glacial blankness of this door.
It's where I live, and listen
to God's longing, and God's cry.
It's just where I am, where to the beating of night-wings
a man who has no dreams can be alone.

REMEMBERED ROSES

Remember how those hands brought
St. George's roses to us,
in that old gleam of April?
Slight rain was falling slowly.
We from behind the window
watched with immense boredom,
perhaps from some young ailment,
the life in the street. Then
she came, as always fragrant,
kindly as always, bringing
the flowers, and shut far out
the suffering of the dragon,
and spoke very softly
our pet names, and smiled at us.

MANIKIN

They said: "If you're famished
and your mouth rots,
what can you aspire to?"
In rout I replied: "I would sing
at sea-level, in hiding,
in the mire, at dusk, hearing
the tread of haughty walkers
in the dark; slow changes
in the sky at night, the screeching
of the last train taking
blind oblate fathers to matins.
In bed, I would feel faithful
to your dreams,
for I keep constant vigil and count
the hours of winter and waiting,
and every drop of rain."
They smiled: "You mean then
you'd meander, merely?
Your purse, unhappily,
forbids it. But never mind,
we'll turn you to use,
fix you up in a job,
and the next thing you know—
you'll be eating."
And they filled my belly with straw
and rigged me out in these very rags
and set me up as a scarecrow
above lands of evil weather,
where crows' beaks and jackdaws'
taste me, and flung stones crumble
my tatters of headgear. Adverse
winds adopt me. Afterwards again
I become alone, while unremitting
drenchings rot me away
in the vineyard of the masters.

BLAI BONET was born in Santanyí, Mallorca, in 1931. As Joan Triadú has pointed out,[1] Catalan poets 'have always tended towards theocentric humanism' but not many have written from so intimate, urgent and passionate a religious sense as this fellow-islander of Ramon Lull. When writing the prologue to Bonet's second book, 'Cant Espiritual' (1953), Salvador Espriu found in it echoes of writers like Jacopone and Unamono, but also of Jorge Guillén whose 'lesson of serenity has transformed the primitive fire into high, clear glass.' Of the two poems here, 'Talk' is an example of that transformation and the other, in my opinion, bears fair witness to the 'fire'.

TALK

Conversing, someone said:
"Just as the oats were dying,
hands of love bound them,
unbound them, and they lived."

And the more they discussed it
the more silver branches, the more
sounds of gleaming oats
came and went.
By the dint of words
spoken on land, in the air,
on the four sea-ways,
the hour, the fresh hour
of the first dawn
of rivers, of aviaries,
is always vast and always new.
If we talk, we comment
on the multiple clarity
of the mouth and hands
of God, who talks, and is
the owner of the word.

And that time-honoured talk
is so tender a success
in warm mouths
as a shiver of green
above a black tree-trunk.

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[1]In the introduction to his *Anthology of Catalan Lyric Poetry*, edited by Joan Gili (Oxford: The Dolphin Book Co., 1953).

SONG OF LOVE PRESENT AND ABSENT

Your peach-smoothness.
We are the bitter ones, we talk of no more
than Your peach-smoothness.
We remember Your quality, friend of light-makers,
and delaying our leaving we birdlime ourselves
in talk of Your peach-smoothness.

We name the colour of Your pain,
and Your face talks a language of olives.
We name Your height from the raising of arms,
and feel that other hands are imminent . . .
The fact is we're living on Your shell-covered strand
in amazement and wonder at Your peach-smoothness.

And we come out of ourselves little by little,
we emerge toward You, inside You.
We begin to smell of fire.
And suddenly flame blazes in our arms,
deaf and transparent. We imitate the poplars
when they intone silver leaves.
Illuminations throng to us, we tremble with clarities
because we do not see You;
and we know Your gaze is burning on us
and You reside among us like an incense-tree.
Translucent embers, Your eternity
assails and gentles me and I release my power.
And then the glitter crinkles, for to crush lips
against a mouth's brink and recoil,
flesh blind, garb sad,
is a harsh test while from the distance comes
love's difficult breath,
and the lack of love lies round like a smashed amphora.

Charles Riba was born in Barcelona in 1893 and died in 1960. At one time professor of Greek at the university of his native city, he was regarded there as about the greatest of contemporary Catalan poets. *Elegies de Bierville,* written in exile, is generally considered his finest work, but I find myself out of sympathy with much of its manner, preferring the earlier love-poems and, still more, the sonnet-sequence published, in 1952, under the title *Salvatge Cor.* These twenty-six sonnets are of quite arresting technical mastery and variety and of such compression that they have already been the despair of several translators.

SONNET

There being such pride in pain,
this is not said in vain:
that joyous men alone
can make all life their own.

Play pure, for all or nothing play:
as if things really were that way—
unless we die still amorous
love will have no mercy on us.

Thought can never be so profound
as the eyes are, if what they found
with equal glory the heart convinces,

and, Lord, we find sweet worth
in our domain, the earth—
each like a prince among princes.

The Syro-Egyptian Situation in the Light of History

J. J. W. MURPHY

IN the Summer 1957 issue of *Studies,* I wrote: 'Totalitarian Islam and totalitarian Communism must compromise in order to co-exist. The result will probably be a national-socialist regime with religion reduced to the status of a civil servant, such as Hitler aimed at and Stalin achieved. It will begin in Egypt or in Syria and will try, too late, to escape from Russia without giving up Communism.'[1]

The first part of that forecast in the concluding sentence seems to have been correct. It was not difficult to foresee. But what I did not foresee was the situation, unprecedented in history, in which Syria and Egypt would become politically united under the same dictatorship with a strong, hostile Palestine still standing independent between them. It could not last and it has not lasted.

The map of the Middle East shows the tiny land of Palestine astride the only bridge by which the great Asian land-masses of the Tigris-Euphrates valley can communicate with the long valley of the African Nile. Across that narrow bridge, with the desert to the east of it and the sea to the west, the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa have marched for thousands of years to fight each other for the empire of the Middle East. By Egypt, by Assyria, by Babylonia, by Persia, by Greece, by Rome, by Turkey, by France, by Britain, the prize has been won and lost, and won and lost again. Palestine always fell to the victor for the time being. No one could dominate the Middle East who did not hold that bridge.

The last bid made by Egypt to take over Syria was in modern times. It is part of the romantic story of Mohammed Ali, founder of the royal Egyptian dynasty that ended so miserably with the deposition of King Farouk in June, 1953. It is of some significance that Mohammed Ali, whose magnificent equestrian statue stands today in the heart of Cairo, was not an Egyptian by birth. He was an Albanian officer in the Turkish army, who came to Egypt with the Sultan's expeditionary force to drive out the French in 1801. The quality of the Egyptian troops, defeated by Napoleon, was poor. Mohammed Ali got rid of the ruling military class, the Mamelukes, by the traditional

[1] *Arab Religion as an American Ally,* p. 161.

Oriental method of massacre at a banquet. They were no loss to Egypt upon whose resources they had preyed for some centuries and whose security they had failed to maintain against the French, thus losing the only justification for their existence in a privileged position. The Turks despised the Egyptian as a soldier, but Mohammed Ali believed that they were mistaken. By vigorous training and good discipline he built up an army of native troops that not only beat the Turks, but beat the British. Until 1831 he remained a faithful vassal of the Sultan and sent useful help to him in local wars by sea and land. When the Sultan grew uneasy at the increasing power of his subordinate in Egypt and tried to remove him, war broke out.

Ibrahim, the son of Mohammed Ali, was a military commander of great ability. He led the Egyptian army into Palestine in 1831 and after a siege of six months captured the important town of Acre on the northern shore of the bay, across from the modern Jewish port of Haifa. Six weeks later he completely defeated the Turkish army in the field at Emesa in Syria, and at the same time the Turkish fleet was defeated by the Egyptian. One more battle at Konieh in Asia Minor routed the remnant of the Sultan's army and the road to Constantinople was wide open to Ibrahim.

At this point the Great Powers led by Britain intervened. In 1833 the Sultan ceded the province of Syria to Mohammed Ali who appointed Ibrahim as his viceroy. Russia, France, Britain, Austria and Prussia could not agree on a final settlement, and the Sultan, taking advantage of the delay, reorganized his army and attacked Ibrahim in 1839. Once more the Egyptian army proved its quality: the Turks were thoroughly beaten. Yet again the European powers intervened to save Turkey. There was a revolt in Syria, due, says Sir Reader Bullard, to Egyptian misrule.[2] But E. A. Wallis Budge, writing from the Egyptian point of view as an Englishman desiring to be fair, says that the rule of Ibrahim was firm but just.[3] In view of the fact that Syria had been ruled by Turks before Ibrahim took over, I doubt if so-called misrule was the true cause of revolt. It seems more likely that the cause was the perennial factor of Middle East revolts, a bid for power between local petty potentates, dictators or demagogues according to times and circumstances, whose greed was aroused by the prospect of grabbing supreme power in a confused situation. At all events, Russia, Britain, Austria, Prussia and France combined to save the Sultan from the consequences of his miscalculation. Mohammed Ali had to give Syria and Palestine back to Turkey and console himself for the loss of Ibrahim's conquests by

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[2] *Britain and the Middle East*, p. 34.

[3] *The Nile*, p. 76.

his own recognition as *Khedive,* that is, hereditary ruler of Egypt under the suzerainty of the Sultan.

The war of 1914-18 put an end to the suzerainty, because Turkey was on the losing side and Britain was in effective military occupation of Egypt. Turkey lost her Middle East Empire, and Syria became independent, but under a French mandate of the League of Nations, after a brief hour of Arab national glory. From the end of the 1918 war until the end of 1919 British troops, who had beaten the Turks and their German allies in Syria, were in military control of the country, with the Arabs under Feisul (the Arab leader and friend of T. E. Lawrence) trying to set up a centre of administration for the whole of Syria from Damascus. Then the British, who had commitments to both sides, French and Arab, with the Jewish Zionists as a further complication, decided wisely to withdraw from Syria. The Arabs proclaimed Feisul as king of a 'united Syria.' What this would mean in practice, nobody ever knew. His reign lasted only from March to June 1920. Then a French army occupied Damascus and in 1923 the League of Nations gave France a mandate over the whole of Syria.

The French might still be in control of Syria if it had not been for the loyalty of the local French military commander to the Vichy government after the collapse of France in 1940. His loyalty was praiseworthy, but his tactics were such as the British, who were then fighting for survival in the Middle East, could not tolerate.

> In 1941 the use, contrary to the terms of the Franco-German Armistice Agreement, of air-bases in Syria by German and Italian aircraft on their way to support Rashid Ali in Iraq, the use of the French-controlled railway for that purpose, and German infiltration and the danger of an attack across Turkey led Britain to occupy both countries (Syria and Lebanon) with Free French collaboration after a short campaign.[4]

The Free French, with some prodding from Britain, issued a proclamation of Syrian independence before the invasion of 1941. They were in the unhappy position of not only having to fight their own countrymen in Syria, but having to make bargains about French-mandated territory with Arabs and British, behind the back of the Vichy government which commanded the allegiance of most French men at home and abroad. Naturally they were slow to carry out their side of the bargain, and quite as naturally the Syrian Arabs resented this hesitation. It was not until 1946, and after Damascus had been bombarded by French guns in 1945, as it had been when Feisul was

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[4] *The Middle East, A Political and Economic Survey* by the Royal Institute of International Affairs (1958), p. 459. Rashid Ali was the leader of a pro-Axis and anti-British revolt in Iraq at critical period in the 1939-45 war.

driven out in 1920, that the French and British troops were at last withdrawn from Syrian soil. The British left willingly; the French did not, and they still harbour a grudge against British policy which, they say, sacrificed them to the Arabs. They observe with some satisfaction that the sacrifice has not borne much fruit of goodwill for Britain in the Middle East.

Syria had been ruled internally by a western-type democratic government, complete with president, prime minister, cabinet and opposition for some three years before all foreign troops withdrew in 1946. The government not only faced the usual difficulties of politicians who had not been trained as statesmen, but also the Arab conflict with the Palestine Jews which broke out into open war when the British left Palestine in May-June 1948. Like all Arabs they had despised the Jews and were confident that, once British protection was withdrawn, the united armies of the Arab world would quickly over-run Palestine. Of the five Arab armies that invaded Palestine in the summer of 1948, the Syrians got the worst beating and put up the worst fight. They turned in anger upon their own government. There were riots at Damascus in December. The army intervened to restore order and there was a change of government that lasted until March 1949. Then Colonel Husni Zaim persuaded some of his brother officers to carry out a bloodless revolution and make him the head of a new government on military lines. Parliament was dissolved; reforms were proclaimed, among them the political emancipation of women.

The next revolution was not so bloodless. It came on 14 August of the same year; it came from another group of army officers led by Colonel Sami Hinnawi. Husni Zaim was executed. A former president, Hashim Atassi, took office again. Elections were held at which women voted for the first time in Syrian history. The government resulting from this election showed signs of wanting to unite Syria with Iraq. There was then a third revolution just before the end of the year. It was made by a group that was determined there would be no union, no matter what the government or the majority of the electors wanted. The leader was yet another colonel, Adid Shishakli. Before the end of another year he had dissolved Parliament and put most of the government under arrest. For four years he ruled as a dictator, till another revolt of the army drove him from power. He got out of Syria alive and old Atassi came back as president, in 1954.

Here we have the pattern of Syrian politics: a hankering for the democratic form of government combined with a refusal to accept the responsibility that goes with it; a consequent recourse to violence when faced with disagreeable policies and burdens; the search of a weak, distracted people for a strong man to lead them out of the

messes into which their mistakes have led them; disillusion with would-be leaders who fail them in turn; wishful faith in the army as the one disciplined source of power and order left in a disunited country. But more important than these psychological factors, is the geographical factor. It has been well expressed by a writer of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, as follows:

> One fact above all explains Syrian foreign policy: the state of Syria, with its present frontiers is an artificial creation. It is what was left of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire after the other interested parties had been satisfied. All governments and parties in Syria think of themselves not simply as defending the interests of the Syrian state, but as providing a centre around which a wider unity, broken up after the first world war, can be reconstituted. This wider unity includes in the first instance the rest of 'Syria' in its historical sense, as a geographical and social unit including Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine; beyond that it includes some at least of the other Arab-speaking regions.[5]

The natural frontiers of Syria are far beyond its present political boundaries. It shares the fertile coastal strip on the west with the Lebanon, the Euphrates valley to the north-east with Iraq, the Jordan valley west and south with Palestine and Jordan.

The Arab world was ruled by the Umayyad Caliphs of Syria for nearly a century before the centre of government shifted to Iraq, in the middle of the eighth century, and the Caliphate was taken over by the Abbasid dynasty. Damascus and Baghdad are therefore ancient rivals. The centrifugal tendency of Syrian politics, making for union with its Arab neighbours, is checked by a centripetal force of national pride. The Syrians would unite with lesser partners, such as Jordan, Lebanon or Palestine, more readily than with greater nations like Iraq or Egypt. We have seen how a move towards union with Iraq, in spite of some popular support, led to the third army revolt that overthrew a Syrian government in 1949. Union with a smaller state, such as Lebanon or Palestine, would make Syria the dominant partner. Jordan is smaller in extent than Syria, and has only about one-third of its population, but it has the prestige of the Hashemite monarchy and of the Arab Legion. King Abdullah of Jordan was the younger brother of Feisul, the hero of the Arab revolt, who reigned briefly at Damascus in the summer of 1920. The Arab Legion was the only Arab force able to hold its own, and more than its own, in fighting with the Jews. To it alone is due the capture of Jerusalem by the Arabs in 1948. Jerusalem, next to Mecca and Medina, is the sacred city of the Muslim world. Syria would hardly be the dominant partner

[5]Op. cit. p. 471.

in union with Jordan, despite its material superiority. Neither Palestine nor the Lebanon would be willing partners; the former because of its huge Jewish majority, the latter because of its strong Christian minority and western tradition. Egypt is thus reached by elimination, as a possible candidate for the position.

The fact that Egypt is cut off by land from Syria may have seemed an obstacle to control by the larger country, a barrier behind which Syria might go on living its own life while enjoying the advantages of partnership. From Syria's viewpoint this was an advantage; from Egypt's side it was not.

The Egyptian dictator knew some military history. Colonel Nasser had not been to the Staff College for nothing. He had studied the campaigns of Mohammed Ali and of Ibrahim Pasha, so he knew the meaning of the Palestine bridge. It was no wonder, then, that he took a long look at the mouth of the gift horse offered to him in 1957 by the current government of Syria. It had by then recovered democratic trappings. But the plebiscite on the 21 February 1958 showed what these were worth. There was the usual totalitarian unanimity, 99.8 per cent in favour of Nasser as president of the United Arab Republic, almost as good as Egypt which gave him 99.99 per cent.

This neatly contrived result must have taken a good deal of the usual totalitarian management, for it came at the end of a year's confusion in Syria. The one thing that emerges clearly from that year is the way the Russians played upon the Syrian fanatics of all sorts, through the local Communist party, in order to stir up trouble in the Middle East. The Russians are such hopelessly bad diplomats that they fall back frequently on the chances of fishing in troubled waters because they do not know what else to do. So if the waters are not troubled, they have to make them so. People who are now worried about the risk of a nuclear war arising from the present Berlin situation, may get comfort from remembering the song-and-dance act raised by Russia over a purely imaginary Syro-Turkish crisis in that same year, 1957. It was settled at some sort of a diplomatic cocktail-party, as the Russians hoped and intended, because the western powers had not the courage effectively to call the Russian bluff.

Apologists for Nasser's recent failure recall his misgivings when, at the end of 1957, he was approached by Syrian politicians who wanted to turn the federal union that had developed during the year into full political union of Egypt and Syria under Nasser. Why did he eventually accept their proposal in spite of those well-founded misgivings? The answer may be found by considering what he most needed at that time. He needed rehabilitation in the eyes of the Arab world and he needed revenge on Israel. The Syrian offer of full union meant immediate prestige that would help to wipe out the memory

of the Egyptian army's ignominious defeats at the hands of the Jews in 1948-49 and in 1956. The actual union would mean the military encirclement of Israel.

The Arab world did not generally understand that it was American financial pressure which stopped the Anglo-French operation on the Suez Canal in 1956 and saved Nasser from complete and final disaster. The Arabs thought it was the Russian threat of a nuclear bombardment of London and Paris that had saved him. This notion sent up the prestige of Russia in the Middle East, but sent the moral standing of Egypt lower than ever. It had been low for a long time. Arabs are realists in their own way even if given to wishful thinking. The idea that Russian aid to Nasser had no strings attached only made them laugh. There would be no difficulty about attaching strings later as Nasser committed himself to projects financed by Russia, which he could not afford to stop, once they had been started, and which were giving some relief to Egypt's chronic troubles of unemployment and over-population.

The Jews were able to defeat the Arabs in 1948-49 because they had the advantage of operating on interior lines. They defeated the Syrians in the north and then turned on the Egyptians in the south. If the strategy of the encircling Arab armies had been properly coordinated by a single high command, the result would have been different. A step had been made in this direction during 1957 when an Egyptian, General Amer, was appointed supreme commander of the combined Syrian and Egyptian forces. But obviously such a commander would be in a better position if he had a single government behind him than if he had to reckon with two. Complete union would therefore bring revenge on Israel much nearer to reality.

The feeling against Israel is stronger in Syria and in Egypt than in any of the other Arab states. Both have been defeated and humiliated by the Jews, the Egyptians twice over. But Egypt is geographically apart from Israel compared with Syria. The Royal Institute of International Affairs, in its publication already quoted, brings out the important point that Syrians consider the whole Jordan valley part of 'Greater Syria', and that therefore the Jews are guilty, not only of aggression on a sister-nation of Arabs, but of an invasion of the Syrians' native land.

> Above all, Syria's implacable hostility to Zionism and Israel is not the hostility of one state to another, but that of a nation towards an invader; but there are specific causes of dispute which heighten the emnity. The Syro-Israeli armistice signed at the beginning of 1949 has never worked easily. Disputes have arisen over fishing rights on Lake Tiberias, and still more over Israel's attempt to divert the waters of the upper Jordan for her irrigation schemes.[6]

[6]Op. cit. pp. 471-72.

This feeling of implacable hostility towards the Zionists was, and is, held in common by Syria and Egypt, as by no other combination of Arab nations. Iraq, the Yemen and Saudi Arabia are remote from Palestine. Of these only Iraq took part in the war of 1948-49. Its army won no victories against the Jews but neither did it suffer defeat. Jordan has a common frontier with Israel, but its army, the famous Arab Legion, has a proud record of victory in the 1948-49 war, and has no hard feelings about its reverses. So the nation as a whole does not suffer from the inferiority feeling that is so evident in the Syrians and Egyptians.

The United Arab Republic started with a flourish characteristically exaggerated by this feeling. It called for a united Arab world and held itself up as an example. To everyone's surprise a response came. It came from the most remote and backward corner of the Arab world, the Yemen. This response is said to have been due to internal troubles of the ruling dynasty and to its external troubles with the British over Aden. Both factors existed, but to me at least the Yemenite situation remains obscure. At all events, the more sophisticated Arab states kept aloof, in a marked manner, from the Syro-Egyptian attempt at uniting all Arabs, and this in spite of Syro-Egyptian pressure on two of the smallest, their neighbours, Jordan and the Lebanon. The Lebanese government invited American troops to come to the rescue; the Jordan government invited British troops. They came and remained until the danger was over. Then they departed, without fighting, but leaving behind them a useful lesson that what had been done could be done again, and more if necessary.

For some years Nasser had carried on a campaign against Iraq that amounted to a personal vendetta against Nuri es Said, the prime minister, who was an old friend of Britain and the West and a faithful servant of the ruling Hashemite dynasty. The revolution of July 1958 when Nuri es Said, the young king, and the royal family, were brutally murdered, was welcomed by Nasser. It was soon evident that there was a strong pro-Egyptian fifth column among the successful rebels. But the revolution was not pro-Egyptian; it was a bid for power by a political group which had got most of the army on its side. As in Syria, so in Iraq, the army had always been politically-minded. The United Arab Republic soon saw its friends in Iraq gradually losing power until it was plain that, whatever Iraq might once have felt about union with Syria, it would have nothing to do with a Syria dominated by Egypt.

It was not long before the Syrians began to feel dominated. The first thing Nasser did was to dissolve all political parties and to set up a one-party system, called the National Union, on the model already set up in Egypt. Then he proceeded to impose tight govern-

ment control in the social and economic as well as in the political field. Syria, like all Arab countries, was badly in need of social reforms. The unequal distribution of wealth in the Middle East gives Communist propaganda ample opportunity for denunciation. Land reforms are particularly welcome to the masses, but they have rarely done more than produce a few communities of contented peasants to serve as showpieces. So it was in Egypt and so it happened in Syria. Government control meant more government jobs, but they were filled largely by Egyptians. This was a sore disappointment to the former members of the *Baath* ('Renaissance') party. This was composed of young army officers and intellectuals. Its politics were socialist; it had dominated Syrian politics since 1956 and had worked for union with Egypt. Naturally its members expected jobs as their reward for helping to set up the new regime. They got some, but not enough. In the original scheme of union Syria and Egypt were to have each its own parliament. In March 1960 Nasser announced that in future there would be a single national assembly for the two countries because (said he) 'one parliament will be a better representation of the union between the two countries'. The population of Egypt is about 24 million; that of Syria about 4 million.

The Syrian army showed more patience towards Nasser than it had shown towards the native Syrian politicians and dictators in 1949, the year of the three *coups d'état*. When it turned decisively against him in the *coup* of September 1961, he had ruled for nearly four years. Ibrahim Pasha, the last Egyptian to rule Syria, had lasted six years, from 1833 to 1839. He could have lasted longer if he had only a Syrian revolt to deal with. The Palestine bridge was firmly in his hands, with the power of Egypt and Mohammed Ali behind it.

It is to the credit of the Egyptian propaganda-machine that its picture of Nasser's reaction to the Syrian revolt has been so widely believed, in spite of the facts with which it is clearly incompatible. A Lebanese newspaper called Nasser's decision to recognize the new Syrian government 'a triumph of reason'. The official Egyptian version is now taken from Nasser's third pronouncement made the day after the revolt, in which he said that he had never really wanted union with Syria, had accepted it with misgivings to oblige the Syrians who were pressing it on him, and that he could not think of shedding Arab blood to maintain it. English-speaking pressmen have generally given these statements prominence and approval.

The part about misgivings was true. But on the morning of the previous day, after news of the revolt had reached Cairo, Nasser had broadcast a fighting speech. He called the Syrian revolt a worse crime than the Anglo-French attack on the Suez Canal, a stab in the back to the great movement towards Arab unity, a benefit to imperialists

and Jews, and declared that it would be quickly crushed by the loyal First Army which was even then marching on Damascus. As the morning of Thursday 28 September wore on, it became clear to Field-Marshal Amer, the Egyptian commander in Syria, whose quarters were surrounded by troops under command of the Syrian rebels, that neither the First Army nor any other unit was coming to rescue him. He decided to negotiate. The leaders of the revolt were willing; they had no desire for bloodshed, and seem to have been opposed rather to the police-state which Nasser had set up in Syria, than to the principle of union with Egypt. About mid-day Damascus radio announced that negotiations had been satisfactory and that a peaceful solution had been found.

Nasser disowned Amer and rejected the solution. Nothing would satisfy him but the unconditional surrender of the Syrian rebels. Thereupon Amer and a number of pro-Egyptian Syrians, including the commander of the First Army, on whom Nasser had relied, were put on a plane and sent to Cairo. This was a humane method of getting rid of them, which was continued in regard to other Egyptian officials later.

On Nasser's orders, Egyptian paratroopers boarded planes for Syria. Warships carrying Egyptian soldiers set sail for Latakia, on the north-western Syrian coast where Nasser believed that the military commander remained loyal to Egypt. But as the ships and planes were on their way, news came over the air to Cairo that the commander at Latakia had gone over to the rebels. Nasser decided to call it off and to change his tune. Orders were broadcast to the ships and the planes to return immediately. But, according to a sound source, one paratroop unit had already landed in Syria. It surrendered to the rebels after some shooting, which killed nobody. That is one satisfactory feature of the Syrian revolt—no blood has been shed, so far. I have seen a lot of shooting in the Middle East, but surprisingly few killed by it. The Arab blood-feud is, like European duelling, a barbarous survival. But, like duelling, it has certain functions that are useful to society in primitive, or near-primitive conditions. One does not kill, if one can possibly avoid it, when the consequences of even excusable killing are so unpleasant and so sure.

Nasser's change of mind may not have been entirely his own doing. Like all dictators he depends to some extent on his junta. Some members of it may have restrained him from the showdown with Syria which was clearly his first intention. Time will reveal what really happened at the inner councils of Cairo during those thirty-six hours.

Time will tell us what went on in Damascus. The pattern of Syrian politics has only revealed itself in the part which the Syrian

army played in the revolt; it does not yet show where political power will eventually lie, nor what kind of men will exercise it.

The one Middle East state that must view the situation with unmixed feelings is Israel. The discomfiture of Nasser is probably more or less welcome all round the Arab world. But for Israel it is a heavenly deliverance. If the union of Egypt and Syria had gone on, the threat to Israel's existence would have grown very serious indeed. It is not strange that some have guessed that the long arm of Jewish money-power had reached the men who made the Syrian revolt against Egypt. But this will remain uncertain for a much longer time than uncertainty about what will happen to Nasser or who will rule in Syria. It is Jewish wisdom as well as a Christian rule that the right hand shall not know what the left hand does.

By the time this article is in print, there may be changes in Syria and Egypt which will make it seen out of date. All I can do is put on record what is known to have happened within the six weeks after the Syrian revolt. Nasser has accepted the situation by declaring on 5 October that it was 'not imperative' for Syria to remain part of the United Arab Republic and that he would not oppose its re-entry, as an independent unit, to the Arab League and to United Nations. But he showed his resentment by breaking off diplomatic relations with Turkey and Jordan, the first states to recognize officially the new government of Syria. The new Government has proclaimed that it is provisional, and that it will hold free elections. Its head is Mamoun Kuzbari, who held a number of posts in the Syrian Government before it was absorbed in the United Arab Republic. He is virtual dictator for the time being, as he is Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister of Defence. But of course his tenure of power depends upon the force that placed him in power. His statement of policy makes all the usual promises about better times for all. The totalitarian one-party system disappears. The freedom of the Press, which had been abolished by Nasser, is to be restored, the policy of nationalization is to be modified, private enterprise is to be permitted and the investment of foreign capital is to be encouraged. On the last point it adds the words 'especially Arab capital', a significant if rather futile gesture. It undertakes to observe international agreements and the principles of the Arab League and of United Nations' Charter, and it expresses support for Arabs in Palestine and Algeria. It is, on the whole, a welcome change from the usual tone of such pronouncements by revolutionary Arab governments. If its actual policy follows the moderation of its language, the new government may bring Syria some badly-needed peace and prosperity. But there are in Syria many forces, including Communism, that pull different ways, and no government has hitherto succeeded in uniting them for the common good.

The Work of Gertrud von le Fort

By H. R. KLIENEBERGER

THE German poet and novelist Gertrud von le Fort is known in the English-speaking countries primarily for her story, *The Song at the Scaffold,* which has been adapted for the stage by Bernanos as *Dialogues des Carmélites,* turned into an opera by Poulenc, and, more recently, made into a prize-winning film by Père Raymond Bruckberger and Philippe Agostini. In this account of the martyrdom of the Carmelites of Compiègne in 1794, and, more particularly, of Blanche de la Force, the young nun who temporarily apostatizes, Gertrud von le Fort explores the religious significance of fear. Blanche, who is considered by her superiors to have a genuine religious vocation although she has been afflicted since childhood by an almost morbid timidity, finds her loyalty put to the test during the years of revolutionary terror. But it is precisely to her fear that she seeks to be loyal: it is her 'form of adoration'; for her name in religion is Soeur Blanche de Jésus au Jardin de l'Agonie, and in the words of the novice-mistress, 'fear can be something much deeper than courage, that is: correspond to the horrors of the world and, even more, to our own weakness'. Gertrud von le Fort describes, with all the resources of modern psychology, how the personality of Blanche, who flees from the convent to escape imminent martyrdom, disintegrates under the pressure of fear, but how the presence of Divine Grace, which Blanche has earned by the very steadfastness of her abandonment to fear, causes her to join, from the midst of the crowd surrounding the scaffold, 'without trembling, jubilantly' in the *Veni Creator* of the nuns awaiting execution, and so to share their fate. But while this story, because of its successful adaptation, has perhaps been more widely read than any other of hers, it is marginal in the body of her work.

Gertrud von le Fort was born in 1876 into a Prussian noble family of French Huguenot extraction; her father's keen interest in the study of history and her mother's mystical piety appear to have been the decisive factors in her early development. After studying theology at Berlin and Heidelberg under Troeltsch whose posthumous papers she later edited, she was received into the Catholic Church in 1925. Far from being a rebel against her native environment like some other converts, she responded to the positive, inclusive and comprehensive gesture of Catholicism, and, indeed, felt confirmed in

the possession of her inherited convictions and values by her membership of the Church. In a special issue in 1937 of the Catholic periodical *Hochland,* on the occasion of the seventieth birthday of its founder, Karl Muth, she wrote:—'The convert is not, as an uncomprehending interpretation at times suggests, someone who explicitly emphasizes the painful denominational separation, but, on the contrary, someone who has overcome it. His actual experience is not that of another faith to which he "goes over", but that of the unity of faith . . .' He has recognized 'that the denominational division is, from an ultimate religious viewpoint, not so much a division of faith as a division of love.' The convert should represent 'the living reunion of separated love'; he is, as it were, 'the bridge which touches and joins two shores.'

Denominational conflict forms the theme of her novel, *The Wedding of Magdeburg,* set in the Germany of the Thirty Years' War. The conciliatory moves of the Imperial generalissimo Tilly, a man of simple Catholic piety, and of Willigis Ahlemann, a Protestant City Councillor of Magdeburg who, as a German patriot, is loyally attached to the Emperor, are foiled by the clerical extremists on both sides. A memorandum of Tilly's demanding the postponement of the Edict of Restitution which authorizes the forceful resumption, by Catholics, of all bishoprics (such as Magdeburg) secularized since 1555 and so confronts Protestants with a simple choice of loyalty to their faith and loyalty to the Empire, is suppressed by the Emperor's powerful spiritual adviser and never reaches him. The banner of the Imperial army depicts the Blessed Virgin in triumph; yet Tilly knows that she has not conquered, sword in hand, but 'with the sword in her heart . . . the suffering love of her divine Son.' But 'they have no patience with lapsed souls, just as Luther has had no patience with a Church that had grown worldly, and now Christendom is foundering on the impatience of Christians.'

And also in Magdeburg where the pastors, incited by the Swedish emissary von Falkenberg, have whipped up the mob against Catholicism, Willigis argues vainly with the intimidated Councillors that they should come to terms with the Emperor and look to God for the preservation of their faith, rather than to the King of Sweden. For the King thinks of Magdeburg as a pawn in a political game, and has no inclination to jeopardize his own strategic plans by hurrying to the rescue of the city, even though he is not as unscrupulous as Richelieu, the Catholic Cardinal, who aids the Protestant cause in order to weaken the Empire and strengthen the power of France.

Erdmuth Plogen, the burgher's daughter, is representative of the city of Magdeburg in her pride and beauty, and her indifference to

the ideological conflict dividing the world; intent only on self-fulfilment in the tasks and duties of domestic life, she is yet overwhelmed by the political catastrophe; and Willigis, her lover, who has had to seek refuge with the Imperial army, returns to find her broken and dishonoured in her father's house. We are made aware that the ravishing of Magdeburg, the 'virginal castle', by her Imperial master, commonly referred to as the 'wedding of Magdeburg', with twenty thousand citizens dead, and the survivors homeless and starving, is a defeat for the Empire, for Catholicism: it can only lead to a hardening of resistance and the prolongation of the civil war between Catholics and Protestants to the point of mutual exhaustion. Of all the characters in the novel only Bake, the Protestant pastor, seems to glimpse a ray of hope; during the days of the siege he had preached defiance and hate, and is now plunged in remorse and despair. But as he passes the Cathedral for the last time before going into banishment, he hears the choir inside chanting the Credo, and suddenly recognizes it as the common confession of faith of all Christians. Comforted, he joins silently, from outside the church, in the recital of the Credo.

In her story *The Tower of Constancy* Gertrud von le Fort returned once more to the theme of Christian division and reconciliation. The governor of Provençe during the reign of Louis XV, Beauveau, a free-thinker and hedonist, pays a visit to the tower at Aigues-Mortes in which Huguenot women—their men have been sent to the galleys—serve life-sentences for practising their faith. Appalled by the inhuman treatment to which the women are subjected, Beauveau offers them freedom on condition that they make a formal renunciation of heresy to satisfy the authorities in Paris. But his 'faith in the victory of atheism' is shaken by Marie Durand, an old woman, physically broken but unassailable in her serenity and inner freedom, who refuses to recant; Beauveau is ultimately reconciled to Catholicism by her—'a human being who has sacrificed and endured everything for the truth of her life while we have sacrificed the truth of our life for the goods of external success and renown.' He devotes himself subsequently to Huguenot rehabilitation and welfare, as an act of reparation, on behalf of Catholics, for the wrongs which had been committed in their name against those who, in an 'age of atheistic delusion, confessed the despised faith, though in an alien form, and . . . bore witness with their suffering to the suffering of Christ'.

Gertrud von le Fort's sympathy with the religious aspirations of different epochs extended to Judaism. Her novel *The Pope from the Ghetto* appeared at a time when anti-Semitic agitation in Germany was at its peak, and represents a Christian retort to it. It tells, in

the style and manner of a medieval chronicle, the legendary history of the family of Pier Leone, the Jewish financiers of the Popes who had attained a dominant position in the Rome of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Gertrud von le Fort evokes the world of the ghetto, of Hebrew scriptural scholarship and ritualism, and the spirit of Messianic expectancy, as reverently and appreciatively as say, George Eliot does in *Daniel Deronda,* but with considerably greater theological acumen. The reader wonders whether he is to consider the conversion of old Petrus Leonis, the head of the family, as a betrayal, and to sympathize with Mirjam, Petrus' wife, who leaves him in horror, and gives his daughter Trophäa a Jewish upbringing in her parents' house in the ghetto. But Gertrud von le Fort is impartial, and Petrus, rejected by the Jews and not accepted by the Christians, is shown to bear his ambiguous position with dignity and resignation. Pier Leone however, the Christian son of Petrus Leonis, who becomes a priest and a Cardinal, suffers so acutely from the anomalous position in which he finds himself and the humiliations to which he and his relatives are exposed that he grows bitter, rationalizing his resentment to himself as a concern for justice. 'My son, justice is found only in Hell, in Heaven there is grace, and on earth the Cross. But the Church is there to bless those who carry it.' Gertrud von le Fort puts these words of warning to Pier Leone into the mouth of Pope Paschal, but they go unheeded. When anti-Jewish riots break out in Rome, Pier Leone allows his supporters to enthrone him as the anti-Pope Anaclete, so that he can restore order and justice in Rome. His election to the Papal chair by legitimate means had previously been frustrated by the intervention of the Roman nobility 'who did not want a Pope of Jewish blood,' forgetting —the ironic words are those of Honorius—that 'St. Peter too was a son of Israel.' The view that Judaism finds its fulfilment in Christian revelation is implicit in the assumption of the populace that the unknown Jewish girl who mysteriously appears to Trophäa in the night of the pogrom and leads her through the streets of Rome, is the Blessed Virgin, and that the dying Mirjam's utterances about the redemptive role of suffering are an acknowledgment of the Cross.

Gertrud von le Fort's apotheosis of passive-receptive and conciliatory roles, as instanced in her vision of Catholicism, in these works, as affirming and comprehending positive aspects of Protestantism and Judaism, and, more explicitly, in her *Hymns to the Church,* in which she celebrates the Catholic integration of pagan animism and of rationalism, find its most articulate expression in her theological study *Eternal Woman.* In this book she is not concerned with investigating the empirical character of woman and establishing in what respects it has remained constant through the ages, but with

'the feminine as a mystery and symbol.' It is defined, in fact, as that form of generosity which is present in the sensuous self-abandonment of the beloved and the mother's care for her children, more generally, in all acts of mercy and attitudes of humility and reverence, and, ultimately, in all that inconspicuous and unrecorded daily labour and devotion in the private, anonymous sphere of life, which sustains civilization.

Gertrud von le Fort is aware that the feminine principle, as thus defined, is present in men too, and has, on the other hand, often been betrayed and repudiated by women. Woman who has 'lapsed from her metaphysical vocation', who wants herself, her own power, figures already in the Bible as Eve, the temptress, and as the apocalyptic woman in the Book of Revelation, representative of the absolute unfruitfulness of the world. They have their modern counterparts in the woman who wants to captivate and enthrall men, and in the emancipated woman who models herself on man for the sake of an abstract equality; the woman who no longer wants to conceive, to 'be blessed', and the woman who wants a child for selfish reasons, who talks of a 'woman's right to a child'. No woman has a right to a child, in Gertrud von le Fort's view: 'but every child has a right to a mother'. And she continues: 'There is no such thing in the world as a "woman's right" to a career and professional work, but the world has a child's right to woman's care'.

> To be a mother, to feel maternally, means to take the part of the helpless, to bend lovingly and helpfully towards all that is small and weak on earth: the maternal principle is twofold, it is connected not only with the birth of the child, but with the nursing and rearing of the newly born . . . As maternal woman feeds the hungry, so she also comforts the afflicted. The weak and the guilty, the disdained and the persecuted, even those who have been justly punished, all those whom a judicial world will not support and protect any more, they have their last right in the comfort and the compassion of maternal woman—the words of Antigone will always be valid for her: 'It's not my part to hate with you, but love you all.'

Gertrud von le Fort holds that the sphere of religion is in a special sense the concern and responsibility of woman. All creation is passive in relation to the Creator, and in Catholic teaching on the sacrament of marriage woman is compared to the Church as the Bride of Christ. That is 'why the greatest mysteries of Christianity entered the world not through man, but through woman: the annunciation of the Christmas message to Mary is repeated in the Easter message to Magdalene, and the mystery of Pentecost shows man in a feminine-receptive role.' In the Blessed Virgin whose humble Fiat made the Redemption possible, Gertrud von le Fort

sees the incarnation of the feminine: 'in her alone has the metaphysical secret of woman become form and therefore comprehensible.' Her book culminates in a plea, a prayer that the 'line of Mary' may become visible again in the faces of the men and women of our time.

Gertrud von le Fort's powerful and complex novel *The Veil of Veronica* has for its theme the redemptive role and responsibility of woman. In her *Eternal Woman* Gertrud von le Fort had stated that when, in the *Paradiso*, Dante looks at Beatrice 'while her eye remains steadily fixed on God', the implication is not that he sees the divine in woman, but rather that 'he sees God because she gazes on God'. In *The Veil of Veronica* the unbelieving Enzio participates, through his love of Veronica, unconsciously in the grace which she earns by her faith and frequentation of the sacraments.

The events of the first volume take place in Rome, before the first World War, those of the second volume in Heidelberg in the nineteen-twenties. Enzio who in Rome is a promising young poet, highly intelligent but anti-intellectual, and the exponent of an amoral vitalism, reappears at Heidelberg as a political activist in the rising Nazi movement. In Rome Veronica had hoped that his acknowledged terror of metaphysical isolation might lead him to an appreciation of religious experience; but at Heidelberg she finds him actually reconciled to his solitude, indeed drawing strength and confidence from it, and implacably hostile to Christianity as a 'slaves' religion'. The controversial theme of the second volume, that of the devout believer who risks his own salvation, and, as it were, barters his soul for the well-being of another, is one that has figured repeatedly in modern literature, for instance in Yeats' *Countess Kathleen*. But, as critics have pointed out with reference to the figure of Father Callifer in Graham Greene's *The Potting-shed*, it is theologically untenable.

Enzio and Veronica are anxious to marry, but Enzio cannot accept a wedding in church, or the Roman Catholic conditions for mixed marriages; Veronica, on the other hand, is willing to undergo the risks of a union not recognized by the Church in order to remain close to him and draw him into the sphere of her own faith and love of God—even though it means abandoning herself 'as Christ gave himself into the hands of his enemies'.

For her Dominican friend in Rome, Father Angelo, had told her 'that the faithful must enter into a full fellowship of love with the unbelieving. They must leave their own pious safeguards behind', and that we must never 'separate ourselves from those who are far from God, for neither does God separate Himself from them, but has come, in Christ, to seek and love them specially'. Veronica disregards the warning of her confessor that she would be excom-

municated and gravely jeopardize her eternal destiny. Before the issue comes to a head, she has a nervous breakdown; and it is Enzio who in the end relents and accepts from her 'the only sacrament which the believer can administer to the unbeliever'; Catholic marriage.

Veronica is, of course, an exemplary rather than an average woman; most of the other female characters in Gertrud von le Fort's great novel repudiate the Marian ideal. Edelgart, Veronica's aunt, hovers for years on the threshold of conversion, without crossing it. Some of her friends admire her for her aloofness and consider it a sign of her strength and independence that she can feel so powerful an attraction without yielding to it. Yet in the words of Veronica's grandmother, 'only vigorous and integrated personalities can risk committing themselves. Inferior characters always try to slip by, but the strong know that they can never lose what is best in themselves.' When she does at last join the Church, her troubles are not over; she cannot go to the sacraments—not because of an attachment to some sin or other, or even from real self-love, but because of her fundamental uncertainty about her own identity, that modern disease. She fears that her personality would disintegrate unless she resists everything that might affect and change it.

And her refusal to surrender herself to God is paralleled by her incapacity to respond to the man who courts her. She cannot love, for she is afraid of giving herself. But neither can she let him go; in fact she stimulates his passion by a mixture of encouragement and coldness. In this way she disturbs his equilibrium and drives him into a disastrous marriage and an early death; she also alienates him from the Church because she makes him believe, mistakenly, that it is her religiosity that prevents her from forming emotional attachments.

In Frau Seide, the wife of Veronica's guardian at Heidelberg, Gertrud von le Fort provides another complex portrait of lapsed femininity. We are at first puzzled by Seide's intransparency, but gradually discover that her tenderness for Veronica is an affectation, that she is a self-centred and possessive woman, who always acts a part: she is not really beautiful, but acts the beautiful woman, has no genuine intellectual interests, but great pretensions, and uses every conversation, every discussion to impose a spurious image of herself on others. Seide interferes in the private lives of her acquaintances, and, for instance, takes Enzio's side against what she calls Veronica's 'religious fanaticism'. Finally she disrupts the incipient friendship between Veronica and the guardian. The latter is well aware that Seide 'always seeks to deprive him of what she cannot give him herself', but 'has nothing to give except the egoism

of her boundless vanity'. Yet Seide gets the better of him in the end, and achieves her object. 'Was there a baseness against which noble people could not defend themselves because it could be resisted only by base means?' The idealistic humanism, on which the guardian has been reared, is no preparation for an attack from this side; and when he is confronted, in addition, by the phenomenon of Enzio's cynical nihilism, his secular faith collapses, and he dies disconsolate.

But Gertrud von le Fort is at her happiest when describing the integrative and conciliatory effect of maternal compassion in a world torn by strife and hatred. In her story *The Judgment of the Sea* she retells the mediaeval legend of Anne de Vitré, a Breton princess who is alone able to cure the sick child of the hated Anglo-Norman king. At first Anne refuses to help and so shames the Anglo-Norman queen into an admission of her complicity in the murder of the young duke of Brittany. 'If people stay silent when a crime is committed, they acquiesce in it, and I stayed silent, every one of us, the entire court did: we were silent that it cried to Heaven!' But though Anne had come, intending to use this opportunity to avenge her people, she cannot resist the sight of the sick child. 'A woman cannot make herself the instrument of death—for a woman is there to give life'. Anne cures the child, in disobedience to her Breton kinsfolk, and is put to death as a traitor. This story was found to have great topical relevance when it appeared in 1943, and ran into numerous editions.

In *The Daughter of Farinata,* a rather longer and more complex story, the leading families of the rival Guelph and Ghibelline factions in Florence, who rather call foreign armies into Italy and risk the destruction of their city than come to terms with each other, find themselves opposed by the heroic humanity of the girl Bice. Man's vindictiveness has created a hell on earth, but Bice hears only the cries of the victims. She gives her help and sympathy to all who need it, irrespective of their party or family affiliations, and responds to the evil intentions of the most dangerous of the Ghibellines with self-sacrificing love and so disarms him. 'For the world's will to destroy is overcome only by compassion, and by nothing but it'.

It is characteristic of Gertrud von le Fort that she reverts again and again in her narrative works, whether their setting is an historical or a contemporary one, to situations of fratricidal conflict in which men are tempted into extremes of destructiveness, but in which their need of grace and mercy is at its greatest too. Sometimes as in the case of Blanche de la Force in *The Song at the Scaffold* and in that of Edelgart in *The Veil of Veronica,* this need seems to be met by an act of divine intervention. In *The Tower of Constancy,* the *Hymns* and *The Pope from the Ghetto,* it is the universality of the

invisible Church that responds to the needs of Protestants, Pagans and Jews, and confirms them in their positive aspirations. But most often in these stories it is through the self-sacrifice and compassion of individual women that the divisions of mankind are overcome and the afflicted healed, and that the outcast, the lonely, the guilty and the lost are restored to human fellowship. For Gertrud von le Fort's high conception of the role of woman coincides with that of Léon Bloy when he writes that *plus une femme est femme, plus elle est sainte.* And it is her conviction, expressed in her *Note-books and Reminiscences,* that 'just as there is an *Imitatio Christi,* so there is also an *Imitatio Mariae.* Just as the self-surrender of Mary was the condition of the appearance of Christ, so the *Imitatio Mariae* is the condition of a Christian era'.

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Book Reviews

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR. By Hugh Thomas. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1961. Pp. xxix, 720. 42s.

THE GRAND CAMOUFLAGE. By Burnett Bolloten. London: Hollis and Carter. 1961. Pp. 320. 30s.

Books on the Spanish civil war have been legion. Some of them have been very good, others bad but interesting, still more just frankly bad. The historical background has been examined, the sequence of events studied and so very variously interpreted. In Britain there still persists an extreme and unintelligent Left-wing interpretation which has defied the passage of the years but which incidentally had long since been jettisoned upon the Continent, even in Left-wing circles. Relations between France and present-day Spain have been transformed since 1945; relations between Spain and Left-minded Britain are frequently what a clever but unscrupulous propaganda left them in 1939.

Mr Hugh Thomas has given us a painstaking and detailed account of the civil war, its causes, its political and social background, its successive phases. It has been an exhaustive study, ably and conscientiously documented. To this extent, it is a valuable book.

He made certain conclusions clear.

The so-called 'liberal and democratic government' in Spain could never have found its level and controlled its own elements of violence. He notes a steady decline after 1933 into chaos, violence and murder. There was never a real chance during the war itself that the Republic could have been saved and righted. In the last resort, the only alternative to a Nationalist victory would have been a revolutionary Spain under a Communist dictatorship.

He reduces to saner and more probable proportions the losses sustained by both sides, the total of persons killed apart from actual fighting, and the degree to which there was foreign aid. As regards this aid from abroad, the Russian contribution was the largest, the most sinister and the most effective. He observes that in one week of October 1937 nine large ships reached Spain from Russia, carrying at least one hundred trucks, twenty-five tanks, thirty pieces of artillery, 15,000 tons of ammunition and 1,000 tons of diesel oil. The Powers, that intervened, did so cynically and with no easy conscience and with little credit to their national reputation. The cleanest record probably was that of Italy. The International Brigades were a strange and disconcerting medley of adventurers with some few idealists and a large supply of ruffians and criminals—that frustrated, resentful scum that floats on modern political waters. Finally, throughout the book there runs a sense of the inevitability of a Nationalist victory.

I had read two or three reviews of Mr Thomas's book before I was asked to review it myself. When I read it—and I did so most carefully—

I came to the conclusion that it had been much over-praised. It is a good book in some respects, but it has obvious lacunae and some notable defects. It misses entirely the epic and dramatic quality of the civil war. It was a horrible war but it did have its moments of 'grandeur'. Mr Thomas is too matter-of-fact and prosy. Only in one passage, on page 211, does he show much feeling for the sharp and splendid contrasts in the Spanish character which make the Spaniard so different from, and incomprehensible to, the Englishman of today and which have caused Frenchmen to maintain that Europe ends at the Pyrennees.

But the book has graver shortcomings. The author is cautious and canny in most of his statements about the Church, but every now and then he betrays his unfamiliarity with Catholicism. He considers (page 47) that the anti-religious legislation was, on the whole, good even if inopportune and it might have lead to a happier and juster Spain, though he has the sense to say that the Republican government ought to have waited till it had schools equal in quality to those of the Augustinians and Jesuits. He approves of the closing of Spanish convents, using the curious sentence that 'they were emptied of their denizens', on the grounds that 'there were many Spanish girls who had been forced to take the veil against their own wishes' (p. 172). He speaks of a Franco mission to the Vatican to ask the Holy Father to condemn Basque priests 'as heretics', unable apparently to distinguish between faith and political position. On page 416 he refers to rumours that attempts were made to rescue the leader of the Falange from Pamplona prison where, Mr Thomas adds, 'St Ignatius had conceived the idea of the Society of Jesus'. It would be difficult to compress more nonsense into a short sentence. Ignatius was certainly wounded in the defence of Pamplona against the French, but that prior to his 'conversion' and many years before the foundation of the Society of Jesus; he certainly never saw the inside of Pamplona prison.

Unfortunately the book suffers from another grave defect that seriously impairs its objective value. The author dislikes General Franco so violently—almost pathologically—that he can scarcely mention his name without some unpleasant hint or comment. A long trail of innuendoes reveal this emotional bias. The first mention of the General, on page 81, prompts a footnote to the effect that 'there is no adequate biography of this clever, harsh, patient and unimaginative General'. He is represented as 'vacillating' and 'prudent'. General Yagüe, we learn, was far removed from the cold, calculating and German type of general 'whom Franco, with his caution, instinctively liked' (p. 246). Reporting Franco's answer to General Kindelán that the spiritual advantage of relieving the Alcazar in Toledo outweighed the disadvantage of delaying the National march upon Madrid, the author cannot refrain from adding in brackets (*or propaganda*) after the adjective *spiritual*, and we are treated to a reference to 'the usual blood bath that attended a Nationalist capture of a town'. The short figure of General Franco—we are informed on page 287—surrounded by priests in black cassocks and *bourgeois* persons (sic) could never be very impressive.

But hard facts force their way through this arbitrary picture. Mr

Thomas is compelled to admit that Franco was wholly dedicated to his profession and that he was a man of incomparable bravery; that his achievements during the civil war were very considerable and that he was reluctant to waste the lives of his soldiers. Even his enemies, he conceded, had to grant that Franco 'carried out a supremely clever piece of diplomacy' in getting aid from other countries and giving so very little away. Yet, when the picture is being rounded off, the prejudice returns. 'Upon the heaped up skulls of all these ideals, one dispassionate, duller, greyer man survived triumphant, as Octavius survived the civil wars in Rome. Caesar and Pompey, Brutus and Antony, Cato and Cicero—all, with all their genius, lacked the minor talent of being able to survive. Francisco Franco was the Octavius of Spain.' (p. 609). Mr. Thomas is actually paying Franco a far higher tribute than he imagines. For the Octavius who survived the civil wars of Rome was the Augustus who gave to the Roman world a stability and peace that it so sorely needed and in which were contained the seeds of its Imperial greatness. I feel sure that General Franco would be flattered to be remembered as the Augustus of twentieth-century Spain.

Mr Bolloten's *The Grand Camouflage* studies the civil war from a more specialized point of view and with a copious and detailed apparatus. He concentrates on the Communist attempt to turn Spain into a second Russia. In 1933 the Spanish Communist party had a few thousand members and a handful of deputies in the Spanish Parliament. Politically, it was negligible and its whole spirit uncongenial to Spaniards. To begin with, Russia did not wish to be openly entangled in the Spanish civil war. Her policy at the time was one of rapprochement towards Franco and Britain in order to establish a counterpoise to the growing power of Germany. The Spanish Communists made common cause with the Liberals and Republicans and were claiming to be more moderate and amenable than Largo Caballero and the Socialists.

But very soon Russia started to intervene: through the International Brigades which provided the only effective troops of the Republican army; and still more, subtly and insidiously, through its familiar technique of penetration and infiltration into the political parties. The relatively small group of Spanish Communists of 1933 grew in 1938 to become the only coherent and organized party that could have attempted to rule Spain had the Republic survived and won the war. It is a long story; it is an unpleasant story; but it is a story which we are in continual need of remembering and studying. The same techniques are being applied today, backed by two further decades of experience, to undermine the patience and the energies of individuals and societies and to bring about the eventual triumph of Communism. The more we know of our enemies and their methods, the better will we be prepared to resist and counter their activities. Mr Bolloten's study of the Communist technique in Spain has served this cause very well indeed.

JOHN MURRAY

CHARLES BOOTH, SOCIAL SCIENTIST. T. S. Simey and M. B. Simey. Clarendon Press : Oxford University Press. 1960. x + 282 pages. 30s.

IN April 1886 Charles Booth, a Liverpool businessman, set out on what he described as a 'voyage of discovery' in the unchartered seas of *The Life and Labour of the People in London* to ascertain whether contemporary pictures of poverty were 'truly representative'. Between 1886 and 1903, when the seventeenth and final volume of his Inquiry was published, Booth studied not only Poverty in London but also Industry and Religious Influences. He so laid claim to the title 'the father of scientific social surveys' and to the distinction of being among those who most influenced the development of social policy in Britain (*Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences XIV, 163*).

Nevertheless, although Charles Booth has been highly praised, his writings have not been as widely studied as might have been expected. The truth is that his seventeen volumes of detailed reports and tables of data make rather difficult reading, particularly when read without knowledge of the background of the investigation and an understanding of the scope of the Inquiry. And these prerequisites of pleasant reading and profitable study of *The Life and Labour of the People in London* were until recently the hard-earned privilege of a few scholars. Since the publication of Professor and Mrs Simey's study the situation has changed because the Inquiry can be seen as a whole, and Booth's voyage of discovery becomes the intriguing odyssey of one of the first attempts to apply scientific method to the solution of social problems.

Professor and Mrs Simey have divided their book into two parts: 'The Man and His Work' ((pp. 13-178), and 'Evaluation' (pp. 179-267). In the first part they describe and explain 'how a Victorian man of business, a merchant, shipowner and manufacturer came to make outstanding contributions to British sociology and social policy' (p. 1). From his writings and private papers, and those of his wife and associates, the authors have built up their study of 'a man who applied his reason to the problems presented to him by his conscience, and advocated reforms the necessity and practicability of which were demonstrated by the weight of relevant evidence' (p. 1). It is a story of gradual, and sometimes faltering, development of methods of empirical social investigation in the effort to overcome 'the sense of helplessness caused by almost total lack of factual information which baffled and depressed all those who attempted to deal with the chronic poverty of their times' (p. 92). The synthesis of the results of Booth's research which is simultaneously provided will encourage the hesitant to study the original reports. There is encouragement too for harassed investigators in learning that even Charles Booth was worried by demands for quick results (p. 106), and in reading his wife's note that 'Charles was yesterday rather depressed because nobody except himself turned up at the Friday meeting when his proposals and general scheme of work and aims were to be commented on' (p. 74).

In the 'Evaluation' each of Booth's investigations is discussed separately and the sociological significance of the work as a whole is examined and

assessed. It is emphasized that in general insufficient attention is paid to some aspects of Booth's claim to a place of honour in histories of the development of empirical social studies, and his contributions to social theory, general sociology, industrial sociology, social research, social administration, and social policy are examined successively. The evaluation is not, however, a misty-eyed panegyric. The authors have been searching in their critical examination. Regarding the Poverty Series it is pointed out, for example, that 'his scheme of reform was based on *a priori* reasoning which had little to do with the evidence he had discovered in his researches' (p. 195). Similarly, the defects of the Industry Series are analyzed (pp. 206, 213) as are the consequences of the fact that in the Religious Influences Series 'personal judgement came to play a predominating part' (p. 224).

The result of this objective analytic approach is that in their treatment of Booth and his writings, the authors have made their own contributions to the development of applied social studies. In praising Booth's methods and in pointing out his limitations they go on to suggest lines of analysis and research which might be adopted today. Their contention is that Booth's work should be regarded as 'a scientific enquiry which can be extended, corrected and amplified by other researches' (p. 240).

The authors of *Charles Booth, Social Scientist* state in their preface that 'the task of writing this book has been undertaken in an attempt to repay to the memory of Charles Booth part of the debt we owe to him, in common with all other social scientists, social administrators, and social workers' (p. v). The authors have achieved their aim, and a portion of their debt to Charles Booth has been repaid. The total indebtedness of 'all other social scientists, social administrators and social workers' has become greater, for in their accounts they must now acknowledge their increased debt to Professor and Mrs Simey.

CONOR K. WARD

FAMILY PLANNING AND MODERN PROBLEMS: A Catholic Analysis. By Stanislaus de Lestapis, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. English Translation 1961. Pp. 316. Price 30s.

THOSE of us whose French is rusty are glad to be able to throw away the original French edition of *La Limitation des Naissances,* even the second and revised edition, and have an English translation to work with. As long as there was no English translation we had no choice, for anyone interested in the world problems of our day just did not have in English anything to take the place of this work of Father Lestapis. Even if you were not interested in world problems, no Catholic could avoid having the problem of world population held up reproachfully before his eyes.

This book tells him why. Part I is a historical survey of the positions

and arguments in favour of family planning, beginning with Malthus and Malthusianism today, briefly outlining the shifting policies from Marx to the Chinese People's Republic among the Communists, then on to the Reformed Churches from the Lambeth Conference of 1930 through developments among Protestant theologians to French and American Protestantism, then on to Islam, to Gandhi, to Nehru, to Japan and the recently liberated countries of Asia and Africa. Everywhere the problem is being discussed. The Catholic Church everywhere finds that birth planning by means of contraceptives (and when these fail, by legalized abortion and even sterilization) is the biggest moral problem with which she has to contend.

Part II is a brilliant critical assessment of the results and implications of contraceptives in countries where their use is officially authorized. It compares the real results, set forth in official statistics from all over those parts of the world with the claims which the advocates of birth planning by contraceptives had led people to expect. The facts leave no doubt that contraception is the first step, abortions the second step and sterilization the third in all such cases. Furthermore the facts show that none of these have noticeably affected the population problem among under developed peoples—rather, the result has been to accentuate the problem by reducing the proportion of the more advanced élite in the towns while leaving untouched the rural masses. The final chapter of this section, on 'Contraceptive Civilization', is a terrible indictment of the social and moral effects of contraception on those nations who up to now have been the pioneers of the use and diffusion of these so-called 'scientific' methods.

Part III turns to 'The True Meaning of the Catholic Position', first outlining the basic natural values and supernatural truths which must be safeguarded, then setting forth the teaching of the Catholic Church with regard to fertility regulation and explaining the rational basis on which it rests, and finally examining the relative merits of 'birth regulation' by management and control of sexuality through natural self-mastery as against contraceptive birth control which is a surrender to instinctive sexuality, with all the miseries for family life which such an attitude towards sex inevitably entails. The final chapter of this section has valuable advice for Catholic teachers and parents on 'Preparation for Birth Regulation and its Practice', outlining a positive approach to control of sex at all periods of life.

Finally, Part IV on 'The Mission of Catholics in the World' includes a valuable chapter entitled 'Catholics and their Mission as Promoters of Population Policies in Underdeveloped Countries', followed by 'Conclusions' set forth in Chapter XVI, a chapter one would like all those to read and ponder who have been unduly influenced by the propaganda for contraceptive family planning as a solution for the underdeveloped countries.

This, surely, is a work that merits the careful study of all who hold positions of responsibility in public life or are in a position to influence public opinion.

PATRICK JOY

THE ETHICS OF MEDICAL PRACTICE. By John Marshall, M.D., F.R.C.P.(Ed.), M.R.C.P.(Lond), D.P.M. Pp. 164. London: Dartor, Longman & Todd. 1961. 21s.

COMPENDIUM OF PASTORAL MEDICINE. By Albert Niedermeyer, M.D., Ph.D. (Translated by Fulgence Buonanno, O.F.M.). Pp. 470. New York: Joseph Wagner, Inc. 1960. £2 16s.

THIS is something rare, a work on medical ethics written by the medical man with, of course, expert theologians to advise on the ethical side. Usually the co-operation is the other way round, and let it be said at once that the work is all the more welcome for having the doctor in the leading part.

Dr Marshall's aim was to write a *practical* manual; the temptation of the theologian is to enter deeply into discussion of underlying principles. I feel sure that for this reason the layman will find this an easier book to read, while even priests will be helped by having the medical side of problems set forth with the wider sweep which practical experience of the problems gives.

Furthermore I am sure that chaplains and other priests who have to talk on these questions to the laity will be immensely helped by the clarity and simplicity with which the experienced layman writes for layman. Particularly helpful, for example, are the pages which describe problems of medical secrecy arising from the fact that the Welfare State invades so many departments of the lives of citizens which formerly remained confidential between doctor and patient, not to mention the extension of the doctor's knowledge where it is question of psychiatry or narcotherapy or hypnosis.

The oral contraceptive, popularly referred to as the 'pill', is treated briefly but, perhaps, sufficiently for present *practice* by stating that, as used at present, these drugs are directly contraceptive and, as such, morally wrong. That does not necessarily mean that these drugs may not have a lawful use for the inhibition of *abnormal* ovulation; the limits within which they might be so used are at the moment very much under consideration in theological circles. Hence it is a little too soon to say that (p. 85) it is impossible to envisage any oral drug for the control of fertility which would not be morally wrong. Such use, for the inhibition of *abnormal* ovulation, could be a help in the use of the infertile period.

It is good to see Dr Marshall take a positive attitude on the need for Catholic doctors (and may we add Catholic nurses also, as Pius XII pointed out?) to be 'Well informed on all aspects of this vital question, physiological, psychological and moral, and who are prepared to instruct and guide patients properly in this matter.' There is no greater service which Catholic doctors and nurses can render to the Church at the present time. But how many Catholic medical schools or teaching hospitals give their medical students and nurses the necessary teaching?

Nothing more complete on pastoral medicine has appeared in any language than the vast six-volume work from Dr Niedermeyer, physician-theologian from the University of Vienna. Inevitably a compendium was

called for and appeared in German. The work before us, itself of considerable size, is an English translation of this Compendium.

It is rarely that a compendium gives satisfaction except to those who have first studied the original work. Inevitably the effort to cover every detail of the original work results in obscurity at those turning points where leisurely exposition of the problem is required. In this work the translator has made the reading still more difficult by a style which slavishly sticks to Latin phraseology in theological explanations, to medical technical terms when expounding the medical aspects and (one suspects) to the style of the original German throughout. For these reasons we feel obliged to warn prospective purchasers of this expensive volume that it is not pleasant reading.

If, notwithstanding the discouraging effects of these drawbacks, one has the courage to persevere, his effort will be rewarded. For the author treats of the whole range of pastoral medicine from basic principles: sexual psychology, pathology, hygiene, ethics, sexual metaphysics. Special questions discussed in the book include artificial insemination, impotence and sterility. There follows an equally detailed treatment of all the problems arising out of the inviolability of human life, from self-defence to suicide, from war to infanticide, and so on to every possible complication that can worry the surgeon or gynaecologist. 'Mental life—Normal and Abnormal' covers body-soul relationship, the conscious and subconscious, psychology, psycho-therapy, etc. The vast panorama ending up with a wide sweep into the fields of deontology (religion and therapeutics) with a fine discussion on miracles, then on to religion and sickness, the 'priest-doctor' relationship, finishing up with the mission doctor.

It is a prodigious effort at condensation, and perhaps it is ungracious to complain that the going is so heavy. It is above all a book of reference, and perhaps the excellent bibliography of English works supplied—fourteen pages of it—by the translator, will enable the reader to follow up his problem in sources less condensed.

PATRICK JOY

PROBLEMS IN THEOLOGY: vol. II: The Commandments. By John Canon McCarthy, D.D., D.C.L. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd. 1960. Pp. 588. 40s.

WE are very pleased to welcome this second volume of Canon McCarthy's *Problems in Theology*. Like the first volume, it is a collection of replies given by the author in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* during the years when he was Professor of Moral Theology and Canon Law in Maynooth and, at least for readers of that periodical, this should be sufficient recommendation. As before, the questions and answers are set out more or less as they appeared originally in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. The arrangement follows the traditional divisions of the Moral Theology text-books—Human Acts, the Ten Commandments, the Precepts of the Church—with a miscellaneous sec-

tion at the end entitled 'Dogmatico-Moral'. This might give the impression that here is just one more jejune and commonplace book of Moral Theology, but a quick glance through the 'Contents' will immediately show the prospective reader that the Commandments of God and the Precepts of the Church still give rise to many very real problems in ordinary daily life. Among the many matters treated by Canon McCarthy, the following may be mentioned as of particular interest: superstitious devotions and chain prayers, participation of Catholics in non-Catholic ceremonies, Catholic support of functions in aid of Protestant churches, the Moral Rearmament movement, Catholics and Rotary Clubs, the morality of the amputation of healthy organs and of organic transplantation, the giving of drugs to the dying, prefrontal leucotomy, the morality of kissing, the use of the 'safe period', artificial insemination, the family wage, the morality of strikes, professional secrecy, the use of mental restrictions by a defendant in a criminal trial, Alcoholics Anonymous. The method usually followed is to expound the principles or relevant authoritative documents first—and this is done very fully in many cases—and then apply these to the problem under consideration. All through the author shows his wide knowledge, not only of moral theology itself, but also of other matters connected with it, such as medicine and civil law. And his application of principles to practice is always prudent and balanced and tolerant. It would be too much to expect, of course, that everybody would agree completely with all the solutions of any one moralist. Some for instance, we feel sure, will want to side with the questioner in the present volume who signs himself 'Sensus Communis' and argues against the author in his view that the legally fixed price of tea during the war years bound in commutative justice and that those who overcharged were obliged to make restitution. But, speaking generally, there is no doubt that Canon McCarthy's answers to the many difficult questions put to him are eminently reasonable and always based on sound doctrine. We recommend this book unreservedly to all priests and students of theology.

MORAL PROBLEMS NOW: Modern Techniques and Emotional Conflicts. By George Hagmaier, C.S.P., and Robert W. Gleason, S.J. London: Sheed & Ward, 1960. Pp. xiv + 290. 21s.

It is being realized more and more these days that man is not quite as rational an animal as he was once thought to be, that his emotional life and even the 'unconscious' part of his personality play a big part in determining his behaviour. Modern psychology, in the wide sense of the word, is now giving us a much deeper insight into why men think and feel and act as they do and showing us that many human problems and conflicts are far more complex than they appear. In this book Frs Hagmaier and Gleason have set out to give a brief account of the principal findings of psychology

in so far as they bear on the pastoral work of the priest. In addition, they have studied in some detail, in the light of these findings, the old problems of masturbation, homosexuality, alcoholism and scrupulosity, with regard to both the moral guilt involved and the best counselling technique to be adopted by the spiritual director.

The book is written primarily for priests and seminarians and consequently the use of technical jargon has been kept down to the minimum and any such terms that are used are always clearly explained. The aim is always a practical one : to help the priest to understand better the problems and difficulties of his people, give them the soundest possible advice and direction and be able to discern too the more extreme cases where professional treatment by a psychiatrist is called for. And it has some very good things to say on the co-operation between priest and psychiatrist that is so often necessary. The authors write in full awareness that psychology and psychiatry are very modern sciences, still developing rapidly, and they never claim to have simple, ready-made answers for all problems, much less to provide panaceae that will cure all human ills overnight. But they do show that these sciences can give very great help to priests in their ministry and that there is a certain minimum of information of this kind which priests cannot afford to be without. They insist, very rightly, that while spiritual means are always necessary, all natural means must be made use of too ; grace is not given for the purpose of curing even the psychical malfunctioning of nature, nor is it intended to be a magical substitute for medical treatment. Purely spiritual solutions are not the answer to problems that arise largely from natural causes. Anyone who is still a little suspicious about psychiatry should study carefully the concluding chapter, in which it is shown that psychiatry has now been freed from much that was objectionable in the original Freudian theory and that Catholics no longer have any reasons for entertaining prejudices against its competent practitioners.

Much attention is given throughout to the difficult problem of moral responsibility in various habits of sin and the views expressed are very reasonable and balanced. Thus, for instance, in the case of habitual masturbation, the authors note that theologians to-day are far more willing than in the past to admit that subjective imputability can be greatly diminished and they agree that there is certainly evidence for thinking that ' in many cases freedom and knowledge are insufficient for grave sin '. But they are careful to point out too that certain authors show too great a tendency to declare in individual cases that freedom is diminished below the point required for mortal sin.

Frs Hagmaier and Gleason, in the Introduction, beg their readers' charity and indulgence and very modestly describe their book as ' a first and therefore a primitive attempt to perform an admittedly difficult and perhaps impossible task '. That they undertook a very difficult task, we certainly agree. But they have accomplished it extremely well and have produced a most useful compendium of practical pastoral psychology which is well within the capacity of every priest and which will provide him with many valuable new insights into problems he meets with frequently. It is a book that ought to be read by every priest engaged in pastoral work.

WILLIAM HIGGINS CHEMIST, 1763-1825. *With reprints of his two great works.* By T. S. Wheeler and J. R. Partington. London: Pergamon Press. 1961. Pp. viii + 173 + 316 + 180. Illustrated. 60s.

THE substantial volume before us brings two questions to mind. One relates to the subject of the work, the other bears on the authors and on the image they help to produce of the modern scientist and his humanist activities.

Strictly speaking, we should say that the volume is by three authors since it consists of three books, the first dealing with the life and work of William Higgins by Professor Wheeler and Professor Partington, the second and third (bearing on the great revolution in the science of chemistry with the birth of nineteenth century atomic theory) being by Higgins himself. Dr Partington, Emeritus Professor of Chemistry, University of London, former extern examiner in the National University of Ireland, is well known for his many publications on chemical science, particularly as a pioneer in writing about the history of chemistry. Dr Wheeler, Dean of the Faculty of Science and Professor of Chemistry in University College, Dublin, makes time in an extremely active life to delve into the history of chemistry in his own country, as readers of *Studies* are aware. It is some time now since he began his researches into the life and work of William Higgins. In the meantime (having found like all students of any kind of Irish history that he had to begin the spade work himself) he has accumulated an extraordinary amount of information, hitherto unknown or lost sight of, and in spite of very defective records, about both his main subject and the general background. The history of chemistry in Ireland is only beginning to be written. The same is true of the history of science both here and elsewhere. We know more about minor Greek philosophers of the fourth century B.C. than we do about the nineteenth century pathfinders of electrical science, for instance. Perhaps scientists have up to recently been in too much of a hurry with their exciting discoveries to take time off and look at themselves, and try to see accurately and precisely how their particular branches of knowledge have developed; and find out if there is any special human interest in the biographies of men of science. The volume before us is good evidence that there is a fresh outlook springing up, and that chemists are now alert and are alive to the human and historical side of their profession.

Interest in Higgins as a big contributor to the development of chemical theory in the nineteenth century was sparked off by Sir Humphrey Davy. Soon after Dalton's 'Chemical Atomic Theory' was published as a new system of chemical philosophy in 1808, Davy pointed out that Higgins in his 'Comparative View' of phlogistic and atomic theories (published in 1789) had anticipated a good deal of Dalton's theory. (It may be sheer coincidence that Higgins was Professor of Chemistry at the Royal Dublin Society while Davy for a single lecture there received what must be regarded as a record handsome fee of £150.)

In the year 1814, in defence of his claims as originator of the new chemical atomic theory (not identical with, but a foundation of, modern

theory), Higgins published his 'Experiments and Observations on the Atomic Theory'. Something of the flavour of the man can be got from the paragraph with which he concludes this publication. He says: 'The generous age of chemical science is no more. In my early days, it was my fortune to live at the same time, and to associate with, many of the venerable fathers of our present system. In that auspicious period, the ultimate and ardently expected object of research was truth: not the advancement of an individual's reputation. Philosophers were then eager to attribute the merit of discovery to its rightful owner, not to appropriate it to themselves or others. But now, in the vale of my life, I am obliged to rescue the labours of my youth from the claims of those who have adopted them without ceremony, and who have even attempted to force them from me by means of their combined exertions. However, justice will force its way sooner or later against all obstacles and prejudices. The subject is not, now, confined to the decision of a few individuals, but is laid before a grand tribunal, and it rests with them to give a verdict.'

The subject is not, now, confined to a few individuals. Through the herculean labours of Wheeler and Partington, it is laid before a grander tribunal than even Higgins dreamed of. For here we are presented in this volume with the evidence from the first-hand sources, along with the feel of the historical setting, patent even in such details as the typographical revolution and alteration of chemical vocabulary that occurred between the printing of the *Comparative View* and *Atomic Theory* of William Higgins. The evidence is presented objectively, systematically and interestingly, with what used be called Germanic thoroughness but without Germanic heaviness. Scholarly, learned and elegant.

The preliminary work of Professor Wheeler on this subject, with several articles in chemical periodicals abroad, is having its effect, I have no doubt. At the International Congress on the History of Chemistry held in Paris in September 1959, I heard repeatedly reference made, not to the Dalton atomic theory, but to the Higgins-Dalton theory.

P. J. McLAUGHLIN

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND THE CHRISTIAN. C. A. Coulson, F.R.S. London: The Epworth Press, 1960. Pp. 111. 8s. 6d.

CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM. Anton C. Pegis, F.R.C.S., LL.D. The Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, 1960. Pp. 89. $2.75.

IN Professor Coulson's book we have a well-informed discussion of the impact of science and technology on the human situation, together with an appreciative treatment of the rôle of the Christian in the face of the consequent changing situation.

Comparing the first industrial revolution with the present one, Professor Coulson points out the altogether different relations of science to technology in the twentieth century development, in the speed of advance, in the effect on tradition. The moral responsibility of scientists in regard to

technology is concretely discussed. The author sees the widespread equivocal attitude of the Christian towards technology as based on suspicion, akin to the primitive attitude towards medicine-men, on ignorance of the nature of both science and technology, and on misunderstanding of his own faith. Descending to particulars, Professor Coulson treats of the world's supply of power and the related problems of food and population, of the immediate influence of science and technology on family life, and of implications in the sphere of education.

Finally, he lays stress on the Christian's duty to appreciate what is happening, to grasp and affirm that the problems raised are not merely technological or political, and above all to set the pattern of thought against which decisions and actions are to be judged.

Despite a momentary abberation due to some rather thin thinking on population control, this little book can be warmly recommended.

In the second work under review, the problem of Christian philosophy is presented by Dr Pegis briefly and clearly, both in the context of American education and in general. A central element in that problem is the paradox of a philosophy, a free enquiry, being apparently committed in advance to truths it accepts by faith. The author considers inadequate the common way of resolving this paradox which consists in distinguishing between the world of faith and the world of reason. A more adequate solution emerges through a consideration of the manner in which, historically, philosophic insight has come forth under the pressure of revelation. Revelation is seen to promote in a deep sense the intellect's rationality. It is a constant exhortation to the human intellect to be open towards the truth. Philosophy maintains its rational autonomy not through neutrality towards the world of revelation, but through the fact of the unity of truth. The Christian philosopher appears neither as a theologian nor a rationalist but as a Christian in philosophy, speaking in the name of human intelligence, yet verifying in his words the mystery of his Christian faith: the mystery that the divine revelation, in transforming man's intellect, has brought it nearer to its authentic nature as an intellect.

Needless to say, Dr Pegis' excellent book must in its brevity leave various questions unanswered. Ultimately it would seem that the perennial quest for Christian Philosophy is a quest for a wisdom implied by Aquinas in his cognitional theory but never explicitly evolved by him nor even adverted to by his followers. The significance of this critical wisdom is primarily methodological, aiming at guiding not merely the philosophic enquiry but the philosopher enquiring, not merely the philosopher, but philosopher, theologian and scientist alike. Without the acknowledgment of the need for this methodology, the remedying of its absence and the exploitation of its potentialities, Christian theology is liable to remain speculatively muddled, thomist interpretations multiple, scientific and educational thinking a matter of enlightened groping. Finally, to return to Professor Coulson's concluding remarks, it is clear that the emergence of the fully appreciative responsible Christian scientists of which he speaks is intimately dependent on this methodology being operationally immanent at all the above mentioned levels.

PHILIP MCSHANE

AMERICAN CATHOLIC CROSSROADS — RELIGIOUS-SECULAR ENCOUNTERS IN THE MODERN WORLD. By Walter Ong, S.J. New York : The Macmillan Company. 3.50 dollars.

THIS book is made up of six essays loosely grouped about the theme of the Two Cities, the City of God and the City of Man, which divide man's allegiance now as they did in St Augustine's day. The conflict finds new resonances in the characteristic development of the twentieth century. It is not merely that the problems of Church and State, far from being solved, have become more acute. The depersonalizing forces of modern science and technology are brought up against organized religion, one of the few remaining ramparts to defend human personality. And the Church of Christ, founded in time by a remarkable and unique divine intervention, is not easily seen steady and whole against the dizzy perspectives of the backdrop of cosmic history such as Père Teilhard de Chardin, for example, sketches. The tendency of modern scientists is only too surely to echo Laplace's remark, when asked by Napoleon why God did not figure in the *Méchanique Celeste* : ' Sire, I had no need of that hypothesis '.

Fr Ong has many good things to say in his discussions of ' The Church and Cosmic History ', ' Religious-secular Dialogue in a Pluralist Society ', ' Secular Knowledge and Revealed Religion ', ' Research and American Catholic Education ' and ' The Apostolate of Secular Arts and Sciences '. If there is a common thread in his various skeins of argument it is, perhaps, his insistence upon the unity of all knowledge. He protests against any effort to ' compartmentalize ' knowledge, to regard culture as ' mere quantitative accretions of items of knowledge ' or to adopt a merely ' custodial ' approach to knowledge. It is nowadays more than ever essential to adopt an ' open ' attitude towards knowledge. (He is trenchant on some ' exclusive ' tendencies he discovers in American Catholicism.) When the boundaries of human knowledge keep on receding and the traditional theology seems lost in these new and wide horizons, the answer is certainly not to try to insulate theology from the advances in other fields of learning ; isolation only makes inevitable mistakes like the Galileo condemnation and leads to the further discrediting of theology.

Of particular interest is Fr Ong's discussion of the nature of the Church's commitment to secular learning. One accepts that the Church has some responsibility in the combating of ignorance ; but the precise nature of her mandate is not so clear when it is a question of organizing a complete system of education, from elementary to university level. And on the personal plane there is the corresponding problem of the nature of the commitment of priests and religious to the secular subjects they may find themselves studying or teaching. To such problems Fr Ong brings a fresh mind. He will be read with interest, not only by the American public for whom these essays were originally intended, but by many others. For all through he manages to convey something of the excitement of watching the epoch-making discoveries of yesterday slip almost unobtrusively into place in the vastly wider perspectives opened up today ; and to convey, too, a sense of the urgency and the challenge in the new situation that faces the educated Catholic.

M. B. CROWE

LANGUAGE, TRUTH AND POETRY. The Aquinas Lecture, 1960, by Victor M. Hamm, Ph.D. Marquette University Press, 1960. Pp. 88. $2.50.

METAPHYSICS AND HISTORICITY. The Aquinas Lecture, 1961, by Emil L. Fackenheim, Ph.D. Marquette University Press, 1961. Pp. 120. $2.50.

THE Aristotelian Society of Marquette University each year invites a scholar to deliver a lecture in honour of St Thomas Aquinas. In the two lectures under review the high standard of scholarship and presentation which we have come to associate with this function is consistently maintained.

Dr Hamm, in choosing 'Language, Truth and Poetry' for his field of inquiry, pays particular attention to two extreme views on the problem. On the one hand there is the view of schools related to Logical Positivism, which has tried to turn language into a kind of algebra. Thus, according to Ayer, the poet is concerned with the creation of a 'work of art' which is comprised of propositions all of which are 'literally false'. On the terms of this school, all that remains of poetry is, as I. A. Richards puts it, 'emotive utterance' and 'pseudo-statements'.

On the other hand there is the school of 'Mythologists' which assimilates language to myth and myth to poetry. The roots of this school lie in the theories of mythic process of Vico and Herder. Its assumptions are immanent both in the Romantics and in the French surrealists, and it has gained impetus in our time, especially in literary criticism, under the aegis of Freud and cultural anthropology. Its general tenor may be conveyed by Leslie Fiedler's notion of the poet as expressing 'for a whole society the ritual reasoning of its inarticulate selves.'

The author goes on to evolve his own view. He considers first the nature of language, and he discusses a relevant distinction, due to Maritain, between 'logical sign' and 'magical sign'. He sees the poet as both maker and seer, creative yet not freely so, and his poetry as instinct with intelligence, whose meaning and truth are posited not in the mode of logic but in that of language conceived as a vital function of the human organism.

Despite the excellence of Dr Hamm's arguments and thesis it must be admitted that the function, form and truth of poetry remain somewhat obscure. This is inevitable, for such a complex issue escapes clarification by critics even if they are metaphysicians. One can go further only by having recourse to a genuine philosophical criteriology, that personal differentiation of consciousness which makes possible the appreciation of the nature of symbol and its proper rôle in human knowledge and in integral human living.

Dr Fackenheim's concern is with the increasing historical self-consciousness of Western Man, particularly in its metaphysical significance. The crux of the matter may be summed up in Collingwood's assertion that the validity of metaphysical presuppositions depends on their historical setting. Such an assertion seems a challenge to the claim that metaphysical

truth is timeless. The author's aim, however, is not to judge but to convey an understanding of the basic doctrine of historicity. He claims that, since the doctrine of historicity implies a logic of its own, judgment can only come through a confrontation of the conflicting metaphysics themselves. This claim is questionable for, even if the fact that metaphysics is a science is not conceded, still it is with relevant data that any given metaphysics must be confronted, not with another metaphysics.

Dr Fackenheim's discussion is too involved to do justice to in a summary. He presents firstly the basic assumption of the doctrine of historicity: that history is qualitatively distinct from nature through the activities of man, and that the distinction beween human being and human acting cannot be maintained—for man in acting is self-constituting. The concepts of self-making and historicity are then clearly discussed, as is also the central notion of *situation,* natural and historical.

The author shows to be untenable the claim of classical Historicism, that all philosophical (questions) are superseded by historical questions. The doctrine of historicity, however, does not inevitably lead to historicism, for it finds room for trans-historical forms of self-making. This it does by recognizing human being Hegelian-wise as struggle between situated, or finite, and non-situated, or infinite. Human being can *be* this struggle and yet rise to philosophical self-understanding through radical self-recognition, which is yet radically universal. The relevant element here, basically an existentialist contribution, is the further concept of *human situation.* Man comes upon his human situation when he sees, in the foundering attempt at radical self-transcendence, that temporality and mortality are universally part of the human lot, when he recognizes that all history is a conjunction of compulsion and freedom, and that to be subject to the one and to be challenged to realize the other is universally part of the human condition. Instead then of the original central notion of self-making there is involved the notion of self-constitutive self-choosing, through which alone does the self become authentic self. Once human being is understood as a humanly situated self-choosing the possibility is excluded of man creating the realm to the knowledge of which his metaphysics rises.

Dr Fackenheim concludes his splendid treatment of the fruits of Continental speculation of the past century with the very pertinent question: 'can the classical doctrine of human nature assimilate the insights into selfhood achieved from Kant and Fichte down to Heidegger and Collingwood, without suffering collapse in the process of assimilation? For many neo-thomists the question, if honestly faced, is an embarrassment.' One neo-thomist, however, Father Bernard Lonergan, seems to me to have provided a basic answer to this question in his metaphysical analysis of development and critique of the conscious subject.

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